DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 066 346 SO 001 390

TITLE	Practical Political Action, A Guide for Citizens.
INSTITUTION	Tufts Univ., Medford, Mass. Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs.
PUB DATE	70
NOTE	209p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Houghton Mifflin Publishing Company, 53 West 43rd, New York, New York 10036 (Paper, $1.65; Cloth, $3.00)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87
DESCRIPTORS	*American Government (Course); Case Studies; *Civics; Elections; Political Influences; Political Power; Political Science; *Politics; *Public Affairs Education; Secondary Grades; Social Studies; Textbooks; Voting

ABSTRACT

"Practical Political Action", intended for secondary grade students and adapted directly from the nonpartisan "Action Course in Practical Politics" prepared and published by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, is designed to assist students in understanding and participating in the political life of our nation by examining action at the grass-roots level. Emphasis is upon familiarizing students with the many ways they can actively participate in support of candidates before they reach the voting age. Six chapters are presented containing case studies and discussion questions. Political parties are examined, defined, and compared. Precinct organization and the role of the precinct leader are described. The purposes, organization, committee functions, and financing of political activity during the campaign period are analyzed. Origins, functions, and types of political clubs are examined, noting that such participation is especially suitable for beginners. Problems that confront political leaders are identified. Types of political meetings and methods of planning and conducting them successfully are discussed. (SJM)

ED 066346

ERIC/ChESS

Practical Political Action

SØ 001 390

REPUBLICAN
AL DOWN MARGIN OF VICTORY
ELECTION
PROTECT AMERICA
CAUCUS

ED 066346

PL

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

John S. Gibson

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER

THE LINCOLN FILENE CENTER FOR
CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS
TUFTS UNIVERSITY

ERIC CLEARING HOUSE FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION
855 BROADWAY
BOULDER, COLORADO 80302

PUBLICATIONS
in
POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

John S. Gibson
General Editor

Practical Political

PUBLISHED FOR THE CENTER

Action

A Guide for Citizens

BY

THE LINCOLN FILENE CENTER
FOR CITIZENSHIP
AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

TUFTS UNIVERSITY

BY HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY · BOSTON

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Practical Political Action is adapted directly from the nonpartisan *Action Course in Practical Politics* prepared and published by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Permission to adapt the *Action Course* materials for use by senior high school students was granted to The Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, Tufts University, by the United States Chamber. This generous permission is herewith gratefully acknowledged.

COPYRIGHT © 1970, 1962 BY THE LINCOLN FILENE CENTER
FOR CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Printed in the U.S.A.

Preface

"There are two basic convictions on which *Practical Political Action* is based. One conviction is *that students in senior high school can learn how to take part in American grass-roots politics.* The other conviction is that participation of youth in politics can have important results for the young people themselves, for our communities, and for our nation — now and in the future."

Franklin Patterson, formerly Director of the Lincoln Filene Center at Tufts University and now President of Hampshire College, wrote the foregoing words in the original preface to *Practical Political Action* in 1962. In reviewing the events of the past seven years, one has the distinct feeling that senior high school students have learned a great deal about grass-roots politics and have also felt the vital importance of political participation. We hope that this revised edition will also help in guiding the thinking and actions of high school students in the political realm.

Practical Political Action, then, is designed to assist high school students to understand and to participate in the political life of our nation. Usually, the dramatic events of national politics seize our interest and imagination, as we are caught up in the excitement of a Presidential campaign. Then for the next four years we read and talk about Presidential politics until the next Presidential election rolls around. Too often, we forget that the well-springs of all politics are in the precincts, the wards, and the city committees where we live. *Practical Political Action* is first and foremost an examination of action at the grass-roots level.

And this book is for you. True, most people cannot vote for candidates to public office until they reach the age of 21. However, high school and college students can do many things in support of their candidates. They can *participate*, which is the essence of effective politics. Voting is only one way of participating. Ringing doorbells, stuffing envelopes, helping to sponsor rallies, and to raise the funds so necessary to campaigns are a few tasks the young person can perform. The 1960's are testimony to vigorous political activity by young people.

The present book has been adapted from the *Action Course in Practical Politics*, a nonpartisan adult citizens' program developed by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. During its original preparation by the Chamber, the *Action Course* was reviewed with approval by both the Republican and Democratic National Committees. *Practical Political Action* is similarly nonpartisan. It endorses the idea of citizen action in politics, regardless of party, in the belief that young as well as older citizens can give and gain much in American political affairs.

Parallel to *Practical Political Action*, an educational television series of four dramatized case studies in politics has been developed by The Lincoln Filene Center in co-operation with The 21 Inch Classroom, the educational television project serving southeastern New England. This series has been produced on video-tape by WGBH-TV of Boston, one of the nation's leading ETV organizations. Under the title, *Practical Politics*, the series presents unresolved case studies in grass-roots politics, uses a realistic dramatic form, and is designed for classroom discussion. Inquiries about the use of this ETV series may be sent to Mr. Michael Mears, The 21 Inch Classroom, 120 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts. For information on kinescopes of these programs which can be used on a 16mm. projector, write to the Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts.

Particular credit for suggesting this adaptation for high school use goes to Dr. Erwin D. Canham, internationally distinguished former editor of *The Christian Science Monitor* and former President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Much aid in the present adaptation was given by Mr. Walter B. Petravage, Manager, Public Affairs Department of the National Chamber. The editorial expertise and guidance of Miss Miriam C. Berry of the Lincoln Filene Center, Dr. Jean D. Grambs of the University of Maryland, and Mrs. Wyman Holmes are gratefully acknowledged. We are most appreciative to the many teachers and educators who have made such splendid use of *Practical Political Action* since 1962, and we trust that this new edition will do much to advance the cause of our nation's political processes in the years to come.

JOHN S. GIBSON
Director
Lincoln Filene Center

Contents

Foreword by Erwin D. Canham ix

Introduction: The Individual in Politics 1

1. *Political Parties* 7

Case Problem 1: Running a Candidate 20
Case Problem 2: The Organization Viewpoint 22

2. *The Political Precinct* 25

Case Problem 3: The New Leader in the Fifth Precinct 53
Case Problem 4: From Registration to Election 56

3. *The Political Campaign* 59

Case Problem 5: The Newtown General Election Campaign 94

4. *Political Clubs* 105

Case Problem 6: The Primary that Nobody Won 123

5. *The Political Leader's Problems* 125

Case Problem 7: The Two-Year Plan 141

6. *Political Meetings* 151

Case Problem 8: Take Care of Your Precinct 166

Appendix 171

Questions on the Reading 173
Suggestions for Political Action 175
For Further Information 181

Index 191

Foreword

No fewer than a quarter of a million American men and women have "graduated" from the *Action Course in Practical Politics* since it was inaugurated by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Now, especially reissued in convenient textbook form for high school students, the Course is to be available to a still wider audience.

Its impact upon the political life of the American nation has already been perceptible. That it is not just an exercise in civic education is proved by what is happening to its graduates. Among their numbers are new school board members, county judges, mayors, city councilmen, state legislators — and even Congressmen. Among party leaders, graduates are hard at work as block wardens, telephone canvassers, fund raisers, precinct captains, county chairmen, and the like.

The use of the program has been universal throughout the 50 states. Participants range from Honolulu to the northern reaches of Maine, and from the shores of Puget Sound to the Deep South. Course usage has not only been universal in the geographic sense. It has been utilized by almost every kind of group in our society, from chamber of commerce to women's club, from church group to trade and professional association, from high school class to political club, from civic group to small neighborhood gatherings of husbands and wives.

The tremendous outreach of this Course shows the awareness of Americans that their political system can be improved. Not structural change, but more effective participation of abler and more dedicated Americans is the great need. The citizen's acceptance of his responsibility to participate effectively in the political process would be an enormous step forward. It is bound to be advanced greatly by the publication of this Course for young people. Few things are more important to Americans and to the cause of freedom everywhere.

Erwin D. Canham
Former Editor, *The Christian Science Monitor*
Former President, The Chamber of Commerce of the United States

July, 1962

. . . The citizen of today is not the voiceless, faceless man of the modern anti-Utopias. He can influence government at every level — directly by participation in honest local politics and by choosing men of integrity to represent him at higher levels, indirectly by the views he holds, the courage with which he holds them, the letters he writes to his elected representatives, the lobbies — interested or disinterested — he supports, even the replies he makes to pollsters. From the sum of his activities and those of his fellow citizens emerges the picture of the nation — informed or ignorant, reactionary or bold, mean or generous, scared or unafraid. And at no time in history has so much depended upon the quality of his response.

Barbara Ward

From *The General Electric Forum*, January-March, 1962, pp. 46-47. (Barbara Ward is a distinguished British author, editor, and economic analyst.)

Introduction

The Individual in Politics

Politics ought to be the part-time profession of every citizen.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Politics Shapes Government

In a democracy, the line between politics and government is difficult to define. Politics profoundly shapes the character of government — and government profoundly affects every individual in the United States.

Government, in turn, shapes politics.

Politics essentially is the process of *selecting and electing* the men and women who, as representatives of the citizens, manage the public affairs of the nation at the local, state, and national levels.

Government is the *actual management* of those affairs.

Many Forces Affect Government

The basic philosophy and attitudes of the American people ultimately determine the solutions to critical governmental questions such as:

What is the proper dividing line between government and private action?

What should be the relationship between the states and local communities and the national government?

What forms of taxation will best allow maximum economic growth?

Every individual has a responsibility for studying basic issues such as these, for observing and analyzing the operations of government, and for expressing informed views on proposed government plans and actions to his friends and neighbors and to those who have been elected to conduct his government for him.

But government is also shaped by the philosophies of those who are selected and elected by their fellow citizens to represent them. They translate the views of the majority into specific governmental action. Inevitably their own views have an effect on that translation.

A look at any given Congress, for example, will disclose many Senators and Representatives who have followed a "conservative" philosophy. Others have been just as consistently "liberal." Each of them has chosen to build his career around basic articles of faith.

Elections Are at the Heart of Politics

Too many people tend to brush off the actions of Congress or of state legislatures or of county councils with the phrase, "It's all politics." What do they mean?

They could mean that a congressman voted for a bill because he thought approval of the measure would gain votes among his constituents. A state legislator voted against a bill that was opposed by some influential groups because he knew he needed their support in his next campaign for re-election. A member of a county council paid what is commonly called a "political debt" stemming from support he received in a previous political campaign.

It is said that "the first duty of a politician is to be re-elected," and this is based on hard realities. But its significance is easily misinterpreted.

It does not necessarily mean that politicians lack integrity. Many politicians have developed the fine art of compromise on the unessential while adhering steadfastly to the principles in which they believe.

None of them can ignore elections, however.

Politicians are a cross section of America. Some are good; some are bad; some are indifferent. Some are opportunists, and others will not compromise their principles.

The great majority of people today are "political consumers." Their votes are the currency with which they buy the packaged candidates and platforms of one party or the other. They do not help determine to any appreciable extent what goes into those packages.

To become more than a "consumer" in politics, it is necessary to know something about how politics is organized and how it operates. This book on practical politics presents such background information. It will be especially helpful to those who say in effect: "I want to be politically active. But how? Where do I start? What can I do?"

Political Activity Is Not an End in Itself

Although many people have made careers out of politics, the average man must inevitably regard politics as a means to an end. The end is good government — government that will promote the general welfare of the nation — government that is broadly representative of all interests and groups.

Government is managed by people selected and elected through our political processes. The rules and regulations — the laws — passed by these men affect the health and expansion of the economy, the way the nation pays its bills, the proportion of an individual's income that is taken in taxes, the way that tax money is spent, and a thousand and one other items that determine the future of the United States.

As James Ertel says in his book, *How to Run for Office:*

> The fact is that political decisions affect nearly every phase of our lives. They determine, for example, how much in taxes we will pay, how safe we will be from criminals, how good our educational system will be, how pure our air and water will be, and even whether or not we will die in a war. The decisions of political bodies are inescapable and they reach deeply into all fields.[1]

---

[1] From the book HOW TO RUN FOR OFFICE by James Ertel, © 1960 by the author, published by Sterling Publishing Co., N. Y. 16, N. Y.

Every individual who abdicates his political responsibilities to other, more politically active individuals and groups should remember the admonition of President Theodore Roosevelt: "If decent people do not like the way politicians behave, they should either get into politics or refrain from complaining about anything the politicians do."

Government Represents All Groups

Our society is composed of many groups of people with varying interests — geographic, economic, ethnic, and social. The authors of the Constitution felt that the views of all these groups should be represented in government to obtain a final result acceptable to the majority without trampling on the basic rights of any minority.

A candid-thinking businessman once said:

> The growth and use . . . by one special interest group of political power which has no effective check is not the fault primarily of those who achieve the power, for it is their right to try. Rather, the fault is principally on the part of those who, by their inactivity and silence, allowed it to happen.

In his book, *You're the Boss*, Edward J. Flynn, long-time Democratic political leader, said this about complaints directed at the political influence of the CIO Political Action Committee (PAC), the forerunner of the Committee on Political Education (COPE) of the AFL-CIO:

> If the citizens whose interests are different from, or broader than, those championed by PAC would take as much pains to protect those interests as labor is taking to protect its interests, the story might be an entirely different one. Certainly there is no point in condemning PAC-endorsed candidates for feeling under obligation to organized labor. Unfortunately, however, the citizen with broad interests is rarely a party worker, or even an active citizen. Why, therefore, should he be surprised that more "independent" candidates are not elected to office? It would be a fine thing if all officeholders felt under obligation to all types of citizens and hence based their judgments on the rule of the

greatest long-term good for the greatest number. But we will never reach that Utopia unless or until all the citizens resolve to work three hundred and sixty-five days a year at being citizens.[1]

The Individual in Politics

Two important features of politics in the United States increase the opportunities for effective political action by individuals:

Politics is organized, group action.
Politics is local.

Politics Is Organized, Group Action

Any individual who wants to increase his political effectiveness must start with the realization that politics is organized. Whether or not he gives a candidate active support, he will be represented by a person who has been nominated and elected through the political process.

The existence of political parties offers real advantages to the beginner in politics. It means he does not have to embark alone on an uncharted sea. Political parties are composed of millions of workers. There is a niche for him — if he wants it.

Politics Is Local

As he casts his first tentative glances at political participation, the beginner can easily make the age-old mistake of concentrating on the forest instead of the trees. He recognizes the fact that political parties play a dominant role in politics, but he is inclined to think of them in terms of a national election, a far-removed national committee composed of party leaders with state-wide and national reputations. He would be less than human if he did not wonder how he could make an appreciable impact in such a system.

That's looking at the forest and not at the trees. The beginner in politics — even as the professional does — should concentrate on the individual trees: the precinct, the ward, the town, the city.

---

[1] Edward J. Flynn, *You're the Boss.* New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1947, pp. 234-235.

Anyone becomes effective in politics just as soon as he becomes effective in politics *in his own community*.

The Mechanics of Politics

Most individuals have definite opinions on the type of government that is most conducive to the development of this country and the well-being of all its inhabitants.

Many of them, however, have not taken the time to study the mechanics of politics that will help them to achieve better government. They may not understand:

How candidates are selected for public office.
How politics is organized.
How a political campaign is run.
Where political clubs fit into the political picture.
How a precinct leader is selected and what he does.

This book is concerned with those *mechanics*.

It provides insights into the many different ways individuals can be active in politics and explains how they can use their skills and knowledge most effectively in political activity.

For political activity should be a proud pursuit for Americans. It is in politics that we are most fully aware of our freedom to think, speak, act, elect, or reject. In political activity we find, above all, an insistence on the power of the individual, be he barber or banker, Jew or Negro, 21-year-old gas-station attendant or 60-year-old oil-company executive, Republican or Democrat. We find a respect for the political machinery which is our safeguard and guarantee of self-government and for the man who works with others within the political system to accomplish his aims.

Our founding fathers were practical politicians. If they had not been, it is very likely that the United States of America might never have become a reality.

1

Political Parties

> *Politics, of course, requires sweat, work, combat and organization. But these should not be ugly words for free people. "Organization" in politics is not a sign of some sordid tyranny. It is what makes democracy itself function.*
>
> Nelson Rockefeller[1]

Political parties are essential in a modern representative democracy. They provide machinery for nominating candidates and performing other services without which our form of government could not function.

Political parties are also inevitable. Differences of opinion on men and policies are bound to exist among the people of any nation. As long as these differences are decided by popular vote, people will seek the support of other persons whose interests are the same as — or compatible with — their own. By lining up enough votes to beat the other side in the next election, the winner can put his policies into effect.

Webster's International Dictionary (Second Edition) defines a political party as "an organized group of the electorate that attempts to control government through the election of its candidates to office." Thus, the down-to-earth basic purpose of political parties is to nominate candidates and to win elections. People who think approximately alike *organize* to put into public office people who will run the government the way party members feel it should be run.

---

[1] From Godkin Lecture at Harvard University, February 7, 1962.

How Political Parties Developed

George Washington, in his Farewell Address, warned against partisanship, particularly a division along geographic lines. Yet while Washington was still President, the Federalist Party began to form under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton, and the Democratic-Republican (or Anti-Federalist) Party took shape under Thomas Jefferson. The Federalist group wanted a strong central government. They represented most business interests and the Northeast. The Jeffersonian group favored strong state government and a limited national government. They represented agrarian interests and centered in the frontier areas and the South.

Subsequent realignments of the parties took place on the basis of issues. The Federalists died as a national party following the defeat of Rufus King by James Monroe in 1816. By 1828, the Jacksonian Democrats had split off from the old Democratic-Republicans, principally because propertied interests on the one hand and the agrarians and frontiersmen on the other hand differed over tariff and monetary policy. Webster, Clay, and Calhoun were the founders and leaders of a new Whig Party made up of various factions of the traditional Democratic-Republicans and surviving Federalists.

In the 1850's, both the Whig and the Democratic Parties splintered over the slavery question, leading to the formation of the Republican Party, Lincoln's victory in 1860, and the reduction of the Democratic Party to a southern regional party for many years.

The parties originated and reformed on the basis of issues. For the past hundred years there have been two major parties, with no realignment of forces successful enough to produce a new national political party.

In six southern states — Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina — there is for all practical purposes a one-party system. Throughout the South generally, the organization of political parties is informal. Elections are contested by factions within the dominant Democratic Party. Even the factions are very loose and continually changing, with groups within a faction shifting to other factions between elections.

Differences Between Parties Have Become Less Dramatic

The two parties no longer differ so dramatically on issues as they once did. Both parties now contain both "liberals" and "conservatives," though the Republicans are generally thought of as the more conservative party and the Democrats as the more liberal.

Today, whether individuals are Democrats or Republicans depends to some extent on issues, but also to a large degree on what party their families have traditionally belonged to, their religion, their ethnic and economic groups, and also on where they live.

The role of issues in determining party loyalty appears to be on the decline. A study of the 1952 elections made by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan revealed that almost two thirds of the people surveyed believed the two parties took about the same position or said they didn't know what position either party took.

In the same study, a comparison of importance of issue vs. importance of candidate seems to show clearly that the presidential candidate was far more important in the voter's mind than the issues.

In summary, political parties are based on issues and are composed of groups whose interests are compatible. However, the issues tend to blur, and the success or failure of the parties has come to depend more and more on the appeal of the candidates and the effectiveness of the party political organization.

On the local level — the level which ultimately decides all elections — the issues tend to be played down and candidates played up. The comparable strength and effectiveness of the party organizations are principal factors in deciding who wins.

Parties Are Shaped by State Election Laws

Development of our system of government has placed elections and politics largely in the hands of the states. The Federal Constitution made no provision for political parties, and it gave power to conduct elections to the states. In effect, this reservation of election power to the states also gave them the power to regulate the form and nature of the political parties. For all practical purposes, this has resulted in a hundred political parties, two in each of the 50 states. President Eisenhower recognized this when he referred to the Republican Party (prior to Alaska and Hawaii becoming states) as not one party, but as "forty-eight state parties."

Even today, there is no provision in Federal law for nominating candidates for President and Vice President. In the early days of the Republic, the practice grew up of nominating candidates for President and Vice President by a caucus (a meeting of leaders of a party or faction to decide on policies or candidates) of Congressmen in each party. "King Caucus" was an unsatisfactory method, since people of the party living in an area which was represented by a Congressman of another party had no voice in the choice of candidates. A movement developed to hold nominating conventions. The first national political convention was held by the Democratic-Republicans in 1828 at Philadelphia to nominate John Quincy Adams for a second term. In 1832, all parties held national nominating conventions.

The conventions grew out of the need for a broader means of reflecting the wishes of the political organizations in the states in the selection of candidates. The national conventions have no sanction or authority under Federal law. They are effective only because individual states recognize their choices and put their nominees (or electors to the electoral college) on the state ballots.

State election laws shape the character of politics within a state by specifying how candidates shall be nominated and by setting up the conditions under which political parties operate.

Generally, state election laws cover:

1. **Size of the precinct or election district.** Ideally, this will be a geographic area containing from 600 to 1000 voters.

2. **Establishment of a board of elections** (terminology varies) to provide for polling places, man the polling places with clerks, make sure the candidates have all the legally required qualifications, provide ballots or voting machines, and canvass the ballots to ascertain election results. Usually there is one board of elections per county.
3. **Method of nomination for office.** Where there is a party primary election to select candidates, the law may govern the form of petitions and the number of names necessary to get a candidate's name on the primary ballot. The law will state filing dates, the election day, and the hours the polls will be open. The law may provide that the board of elections will supervise and judge the party primary, or it may leave this to the political parties to supervise and judge.

   The election law may state that nomination for public office or political-party office shall be by convention or party caucus rather than a primary. It may then provide for the means of electing delegates to the conventions, either by party primary or by caucus.
4. **Methods of general election.** The law will state the same kind of rules for the general election as are outlined above for the primary. General elections are never supervised by the political parties, however. They are always managed by the boards of elections or a similar governmental authority.
5. **Eligibility of voters.** State election laws require that voters in a general election shall be citizens and shall be of a certain age (generally 21, although it is 18 in Georgia and Kentucky, and 19 in Alaska). There are also residence requirements; there may or may not be a literacy test; and some states require payment of a poll tax. Most states require that voters register at some period before they vote. This is to allow time to make up the election rolls and judge the eligibility of the voters.
6. **Voting in primaries.** In addition to general eligibility requirements, there usually is a requirement of party membership for voters in a primary election.

   In states with *closed* primaries, voters are required to state formally their party affiliation and may vote only for candidates of their own party. To change party affiliation, they must make formal application no later than a specified date before the primary.

In states with *open* primaries, a voter may vote in either party primary.

In states with "*door ajar*" primaries, a voter may switch his allegiance at any time before the primary election.

Where there is no party requirement for voting in a primary, and in caucuses or conventions where the state or party rules are easy to comply with, many people who are not really party members may participate in the election of party officials or in the nominating of party candidates. Much has been written pro and con on the desirability of this practice.

7. **Structure of the parties.** The state law may provide for election in a party primary of one or two county committeemen or precinct leaders in each election district, and that these committeemen shall meet at stated intervals to elect a county chairman and other party officers. It may provide for the election of state committeemen and that they shall meet at stated intervals to elect state party officials.

Only the basic characteristics of state election laws have been touched upon in this brief summary. However, they demonstrate that state election laws give form to the operation and structure of political parties within a state. *Party rules* — state, county, and local — take up where the election law leaves off in determining how the parties are organized and what functions they may perform.

Party Structure

Political party structure tends to parallel government structure, as the diagram on page 13 illustrates.

Fay Calkins, in *The CIO and the Democratic Party*, describes party structure as follows:

> Parties in the United States are roughly similar in one respect, however — their basic *structure*. Both major parties are built in the form of a pyramid of precinct captains, ward leaders,

county committees, state committees and conventions, and national committees and conventions.[1]

GOVERNMENTAL	POLITICAL
Federal Government	National Committee
State Government	State Committee
County Government	County Committee
Municipal Government	Town or City Committee
	Ward Committee
	Election District, Precinct or Neighborhood
CITIZENS	PARTY MEMBERS

Courtesy, Public Affairs Counsellors, Inc., Management Consultants on Politics, 350 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y.

A description and a diagram can illustrate only generally the structure of the political parties, which vary greatly at the state and local levels. In some states, the parties have almost no visible structure; in others, they have a clear, definable structure which may then be virtually ignored, because it is the local custom to do political business in the local political club.

Where the state election law specifically covers party structure, primaries, and qualifications for primary voting, there is a formal party structure. In these cases, the members of a party have adequate avenues for taking part in the affairs of their party, if they wish.

Where the state election law is brief and general, party rules govern party structure, the nominating of candidates, and the election of party officials. These rules may be drawn to favor whatever party group is in power, can be changed at the discretion of this group, and often are unavailable to the outsider.

---

[1] Fay Calkins, *The CIO and the Democratic Party*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Copyright © 1952 by the University of Chicago, p. 6.

Where these conditions exist, newcomers seeking power in the party find it difficult to be effective.

In some areas, there is little formal political organization. This is true of some southern states where there is only one real political party. But whether formal or not, there is always some form of political organization. The organization is necessary to reach the voters, to persuade them, and to get them to the polls.

Model Structure of a Political Party

Perhaps the best way to explain party structure is to analyze a more or less model system, with some of the variations in it.

Precincts. The basic unit of a political party is generally the precinct, or election district. Terminology varies in different sections of the country, but the meaning is about the same. A precinct is a geographical voting unit with a certain number of voters residing in the area. The party leader in the precinct — called a committeeman, precinct leader, or similar name — gets out the vote of his party on election day. He develops a following in his precinct and, if he is a capable person, he can influence voters in party primaries and general elections.

Ward committee. Large cities are often divided into wards consisting of several precincts. The committeemen or precinct leaders in the several precincts in a ward generally form a ward committee.

Ward committees may choose a nominee for a county supervisor, commissioner, or whatever the title may be in the particular area, as a representative to the county governing board. They may also name candidates for city councilman, alderman, trustee, or whatever this office is called in the area.

Town-city committee. All the precinct leaders in the town or city form a town or city committee. The town or city committee generally has an executive committee. The city executive committee is composed of ward leaders (chosen by the precinct leaders in their ward) and the officers of the city committee. The town executive committee is usually composed of its officers and a few other party members. Town committees generally select nominees for mayor, councilmen, supervisors, police court judges, and town clerks.

City committees select nominees for mayor, city judges, city clerk, and other city officials. If members of the city council or county governing board are elected from wards, members of the city committee pass on choices for these spots made by ward committees. If members of the city council or county governing body are elected "at large," the city committee makes the decision, with the ward committee members participating only in their capacity as members of the city committee.

County committee. Members of all the town and city committees — or in other words, all the precinct leaders in the county — form the county committee. The county committee will probably also have an executive committee chosen from town and city committee chairmen.

County committees choose the nominees for county executive, if there is one. If not, the county governing board chooses — usually with the advice and consent of the county leader and his advisers — its own chairman, county court judge, district or county or state attorney, depending on what the chief county prosecuting officer is called. There may be other offices to be filled also, such as other judges, county clerk, sheriff, and so on.

Nominees may be chosen by caucuses or in primaries or even by political clubs, or they may be selected by a combination of these methods. The executive committee of a city or county party may do its choosing without the formality of calling a meeting of the whole committee. The mechanics of selecting candidates, in short, depend on the election laws, the party rules, and the customs of the area.

Party differences are settled by voting in the committees, the clubs, the caucuses, and the primaries. In such contests, the leadership and strength of the organization are tested. Even in a primary, established party leadership will generally win against an insurgent, because it has the organization in every precinct to turn out votes for its ticket.

It is the custom in some areas for the party organization not to take sides or endorse candidates in the primary election, but rather to back the winners of the primary in the general election.

This may help to minimize the seriousness of party splits, but it also may increase the possibility of such splits.

State committee. Each state has a state committee elected from different parts of the state, generally a man and a woman from each of several stated geographic areas such as each county, senatorial district, or other political subdivision of the state. Almost invariably, the state committee will elect a chairman who is the choice of either the Governor or the candidate for Governor. A state chairman may be replaced after the campaign if his party loses. If his party wins, he is usually retained, but the party will replace him if the Governor wishes a change.

National committees. The national committees of both parties consist of a committeeman and a committeewoman from each state. They serve for four years and are formally elected at the national conventions. Actually, of course, the party in each state picks its own committeeman and committeewoman by methods established in that state, and the national convention simply ratifies these choices.

In addition, the rules of the Republican National Committee call for inclusion of Republican state chairmen of those states which voted Republican in the previous presidential election. The Democratic National Committee does not have this rule.

The chairman of the national committee of the party in power is selected unofficially by the President. The chairman of the other party's committee is generally the holdover selection of the party's most recent presidential candidate.

These rules, of course, have exceptions. After Governor Dewey lost the presidential race in 1948, the chairman of the Republican National Committee he had selected — Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania — resigned in 1949 when it became apparent he had lost the support of the majority of the committee members. Guy George Gabrielson of New Jersey was then elected to succeed Scott.

In summary, the political organization may be formal or informal, but there always is an organization. The state election laws and the party rules determine its structure and how it operates on the local, county, and state levels. On the national level, each party's committee operates almost entirely under its own rules.

Functions of Party Committees

An analysis of the different levels of party organization reveals these activities:

I. Town, City, and County Committees

1. Organizing to get out the vote and win elections.
2. Nominating or endorsing candidates (*exception:* some organizations keep hands off in the primary and back whoever wins).
3. Providing services for the party and the voters, such as doing research, establishing a speakers bureau, holding social events, producing literature, publicity, and so forth.
4. Money raising (political organizations have year-round expenses as well as campaign expenses).
5. Managing patronage (assignment of appointments to jobs which can be controlled by the winning party).

When state election law so specifies, the parties may also be in charge of arrangements for primary elections.

II. State Committees and the Two National Committees

These committees are principally service organizations. In addition to normal types of service, they produce much "how-to-do-it" material for local use on organizing to win elections. Every four years the national committees arrange the national conventions. State committees arrange state conventions when they are called for by law or by party rules.

State and national committees have no nominating functions. They are active in campaigns, producing reams of literature and sponsoring radio and television broadcasts. They do not, however, directly organize to get out the party vote, since that must be done locally. They do hire field men to work in certain key areas with local organizations.

State and national committees also raise money and handle patronage.

Political Organizations

Few politicians will readily admit to an outsider that there is a political organization in their area, because citizens generally feel the existence of a political "machine" is in itself an evil thing. Nevertheless, there is always an organization, because people must organize to achieve any objective.

Ed Flynn, Democratic leader of Bronx County, New York, for more that 25 years, put it this way:

> The average voter did not realize that there were ten thousand political machines in the country, that government, particularly in our large urban centers, could not function without them, that there were both "good" and "bad" machines, and that the choice between "good" and "bad" lay always with the voters. . . . I know the facts of political life. I know that political machines, far from being anachronisms, are as modern as the combustion engine — and as indispensable. . . . I know that fighting "bad" machines with hastily slapped together "fusion" tickets is as futile as expecting civilian soldiers with only three months' training to win a long war. And I also know that wherever the majority of voters work actively inside a political machine, you have a machine that represents the voters.[1]

Even where there is only one party, or the party organizations are weak, there are still organizations. They may be organizations dominated by individuals — as is the case in some of the one-party southern states — or they may be local third-party "good government" groups, but there is always some kind of organization to help candidates get nominated and elected.

In the one-party southern states, in some areas of the West, and in places where local and county government is on a nonpartisan basis, the political organization may have less control over nominations than it has elsewhere. In these areas, the political organization tends to be weaker, less disciplined, and the elected official is more apt to be independent of his party organization.

Many people favor a weak party organization and strong candidates in the belief that under this system candidates can be more independent and that the "hidden government" of the party organization has less influence over the public officeholders.

---

[1] Flynn, *op. cit.*, pp. ix and x.

On the other hand, some authorities believe that weak parties and strong candidates lessen party responsibility, blur the issues, and emphasize the candidates' personalities, encouraging demagoguery and a self-serving attitude on the part of the candidate when he has jobs or honors to pass out.

Minority Party Organizations

Even in the areas where one party can practically never win, there are party organizations.

The Republican party organizations in the deep South have been traditionally closely held and exist for the coming of a Republican administration under which they could obtain offices as postmasters, Federal judges, U. S. marshals, and others. Recent years, though, have seen a growing vitalization of the Republican Party in some parts of the South.

There are "kept organizations," too. In some big cities, the dominant party will throw a few judgeships or other patronage "bones" to the leaders of the minority parties to influence them to remain dormant. A similar situation may also occur in other areas. In these cases, the minority parties' objective is not to win elections; it is to serve the interests of a few individuals who have control of whatever party machinery there is.

In many areas, individuals are laboring tirelessly year after year to advance the fortunes of a party that appears to be hopelessly in the minority. Their reward is the satisfaction of working to serve their convictions and the hope that conditions will change over a period of time so they can be winners. Politics is so fluid and unpredictable, dependent on so many variables, and so susceptible to the influence of strong and persistent persons, that these people may not be hoping in vain. They can and do win.

Hidden Government

Political party organization has been called "hidden government" by some students of political science. This is an apt phrase in many respects. But if the political organization's role in government is hidden, it is because most people do not bother to get the facts about how it works and why it exists.

While the underlying principles and problems of political management are quite universal, these principles are applied and problems are solved through methods that are as local as the corner grocery.

CASE PROBLEM 1

Running a Candidate

John Schroeder has been unhappy with decisions of the Mapleville City Council. He finally concludes that the only remedy is to elect to the Council someone in whom people can have confidence. Unwilling to put himself forward as a candidate, he decides that Peter Hanson would be a good Councilman. He thinks Hanson should run as an independent. Hanson is a civil engineer with an advanced degree in public administration and owns a small, successful engineering consulting firm in the city.

Schroeder has lunch with Hanson, who seems to be willing to give it a try. Inexperienced in politics, Schroeder wonders what it would take to get Hanson elected.

One afternoon, Homer Cooper comes by. He is a salesman from out of town who has been calling on Schroeder for several years. Schroeder knows that Cooper has been active in politics and sees an opportunity to get some information about running a candidate. Cooper is happy to oblige.

Cooper mentions two steps. One is getting on the ballot. The other is getting elected. He makes these points:

1. A lawyer's services would be required. Cooper tells Schroeder he does not know what the law is in Mapleville, but in his home town, Hanson would be required to have petitions signed by a number of eligible voters equal to 10 percent of the total vote cast in the last election for the office he is seeking.
2. During the campaign, literature, posters, publicity releases, and advertising would be required. Skilled help would be necessary to prepare these.
3. The candidate would need to speak to important groups. For this, he probably would need some help with research and

speech writing and someone to arrange the speaking engagements.

4. A finance committee would be needed to raise funds. The campaign would require more money than any one person would want to contribute.
5. A precinct organization would be needed. By that, Cooper explains, he means somebody in each precinct to get signatures on petitions and then later to get out Hanson's supporters to vote and protect his interests at the precinct polling places.
6. Cooper says that while he is not familiar with Mapleville, if it is like his town, there is quite a bit to know about its political side. A man who knows local politics can save a candidate from many small mistakes that could hurt his chances of winning.

After Cooper leaves, Schroeder does some figuring. Mapleville has 18 precincts, and the vote in the last state election was about 9000. If Cooper is right about 10 percent of the vote being required on a petition, that would mean he needs an average of 50 signatures in each precinct to get Hanson on the ballot.

Schroeder reviews all the different jobs Cooper said must be done in a campaign. He remembers, too, Cooper's parting remark: "John, both parties have an organization already set up to do this kind of work. You ought to give some thought to getting a party to endorse Hanson and run him."

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Cooper listed a number of things, including legal advice, publicity and advertising, research, a planned schedule of speaking engagements, a finance committee, a precinct organization, and expert advice. In Mapleville, how many of these things would Schroeder really need to get Hanson on the ballot and make him a serious contender in the campaign?
2. Explain which of these jobs would have to be done for a candidate to be able to run for the Council or a similar office in your community.
3. Which of these jobs, if any, would be most important in your community?

4. Cooper explained the problem of getting on the ballot in his town.
   (a) In your community, nominating for a local office is done by
   ....
   (b) Requirements for getting on the ballot are: ....
   ....
   (c) How much of a problem would it be to get a candidate on the ballot in your community?
5. Cooper suggested getting Hanson endorsed by an existing political party.
   (a) What are the advantages?
   (b) What are the disadvantages?

CASE PROBLEM 2

The Organization Viewpoint

Schroeder ponders Cooper's suggestions for getting Hanson endorsed by a political party and decides to explore the possibilities. Schroeder knows Frank White, chairman of one of the local parties. He makes an appointment with White.

A number of Schroeder's friends agree that Hanson is a good man for the City Council and pledge their support. Schroeder feels that White would probably agree, too, and would want to run him on the party ticket.

White receives Schroeder cordially, but after hearing his story, shows no interest in running Hanson and gives his reasons:

1. As Mr. Cooper has explained, running for office is more than just getting your name on the ballot. To reach voters, interest them in the election, persuade them, and get them to vote, you need an organization to carry on a campaign.
2. We have such an organization in our political party here in Mapleville. With many years of hard work, we have built it into an effective organization with a good record for electing competent officials — some bad choices, perhaps, but by and large mostly good men. At any rate, it's the best means we have for getting good men elected.
3. In order to be effective, we have to hold the organization

Many citizens are first drawn into political action by the tension and excitement of an election campaign. They soon discover that running a campaign requires the time and effort of many workers. Young people can play an important part in the drive to put the candidate and his ideas before the public. Some, like the volunteers above, will work at headquarters, coordinating the efforts of others, answering the inquiries of citizens or the press, and recruiting helpers for the campaign.

ELECTION RALLY
ELECTION RALLY

Some campaign workers will be engaged in the effort to inform the public about the candidate and his stands on important issues. The students at left are preparing posters to advertise a rally in support of their party, while the young man below distributes handbills dealing with campaign issues.

THE PARKER HOUSE
home

SOUTH EAST
BANK
ALDERMAN DESPRES
MOBILE OFFICE
MEET YOUR ALDERMAN TODAY

Candidates must use different methods in campaigning. This man, running for alderman, has set up a mobile office to allow him to meet local voters in their own neighborhoods.

Television is an increasingly important campaign tool for it allows a politician to put his ideas before an audience of millions. A political figure must learn to make effective use of opportunities like this on-the-spot interview.

An important part of any election is the effort to ensure that all citizens can make effective use of their vote. This woman has travelled to a remote Alaskan Indian village to explain a sample ballot before the election.

In the city a booth like this one, set up in a busy shopping area, is often an effective way to reach great numbers of people.

INFORMATION

together — not always an easy task. To hold it together, we have to:

(a) Promote from within when possible. Like business firms, we have found this a good policy. Bringing in an outsider, while occasionally necessary, causes resentment among the loyal party members.

(b) Win. Workers lose confidence in an organization that loses elections; they drift away. To win, we have found that candidates must not only qualify for the job they are after, but they also must qualify as *good candidates*. Generally, the best candidates are those who know the most people — joiners, members of a number of civic groups. It's better, too, if the candidate is politically experienced and knows how to handle himself when under attack by the opposition. Politically experienced men are also more effective public officials as a rule. They understand the system and how to work in it.

4. In concluding, White suggests that since Schroeder and Hanson are interested in politics, he would like to have them help in the campaign or with precinct work. He also suggests that if Hanson would become better known — join a variety of organizations and participate in civic activities — he might well develop into a strong candidate in some future election.

Schroeder had never before realized that there was so much involved in politics.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. If you were Schroeder, how would you explain this interview to Hanson and his supporters?
2. White emphasized the importance of holding a political organization together. What do you think he meant?
3. White mentioned "workers." Who do you think they are? What do they do?
4. White indicated there was a difference between being qualified to hold political office and being qualified as a candidate to run for the office. What did White mean?

5. What do you think White would judge to be important qualifications for a candidate?
6. Of all the reasons White gave, which do you think was his most important reason for not being interested in running Hanson on the party ticket?
7. After this interview, what courses can Schroeder and Hanson take, and what do you think of these courses?
8. To what extent are political party organizations in your community similar to those of White's party organization in Mapleville?
9. Do you think a political leader would really talk as frankly as this to a citizen about the "realities" of political party organization? Why? Why not?

2

The Political Precinct

> *The whole State must be so well organized that every Whig can be brought to the polls. So divide the county into small districts and appoint in each a committee. Make a perfect list of the voters and ascertain with certainty for whom they will vote. . . . Keep a constant watch on the doubtful voters and have them talked to by those in whom they have the most confidence. . . . On election days see that every Whig is brought to the polls.*
>
> ABRAHAM LINCOLN [1]

The precinct is an excellent place to get started in politics. It is as near as your neighborhood.

Precinct workers and volunteers of all kinds were plentiful in both parties not many years ago. The ranks were composed of party faithful who were the officeholders from the city hall, the county courthouse, and state capitols, as well as Federal job holders.

Many of these people are no longer available for party service, due to more stringent merit systems for public employment, broadened regulations of the Federal civil service, and other statutory restrictions.

---

[1] From the *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Roy P. Basler, Editor. Rutgers University Press, 1953. Vol. I, pp. 201-02-03.

Since a void has been created by their removal from the political picture, a real need for precinct workers exists. There is a place for the beginner, and if he starts in his home precinct, he is following a well-tested formula — starting with what he knows best.

Precincts come in different shapes, sizes, and even with different names. In New York and some other eastern states, the area is called an election district. In Philadelphia, it is called a division. This book will refer to it as a precinct.

Counties, cities, towns, and wards are divided into precincts for election purposes. The boundaries of the precinct are set by law. Sometimes several polling places are located in the same precinct. More generally, one polling place serves all the voters in one precinct and is located in the precinct or convenient to it.

A typical precinct embraces from 600 to 1000 voters. But precincts vary considerably in size, some having up to several thousand voters and some, 150 or fewer.

Laws fixing the size of precincts in some states are carry-overs from customs originating in pre-Revolutionary War days. One southern state, for instance, allows as many as 15,000 voters in a single precinct.

Precincts in rural areas may contain far fewer voters than those in urban areas. Generally, however, *wide variations* in the size of precincts *within one state* result from population shifts and from failure to change the boundary lines of precincts and other political districts to take these shifts into account. This failure to redistrict, in turn, may result from inertia or may be caused by political reasons.

As an example, consider a town with 15 precincts. The 15 precinct leaders comprise the town committee. The party leader can control the committee if he can depend upon the votes of eight precinct leaders. But if redistricting set up 22 precincts, he would need 12 people on his side to maintain a majority. To retain control of the committee, the town leader would have to find seven new precinct leaders, four of whom he could depend on to vote his way.

It might be easier for the party leader to convince the board of elections that redistricting is unnecessary than it would be to find the new precinct leaders. A valuable insight into the political leadership in an area may sometimes be gained by studying precinct structure.

The Precinct Leader

The precinct leader may also be called precinct captain, chairman, or committeeman, depending on local usage. He is a critically important official in the party organization, since he — or she — is the party's direct contact with the voters.

The Democratic National Committee recognizes the importance of the precinct leader in these words:

> The Democratic Party depends on you to be a two-way street between the party organization and the people. You — and only you — can carry the wishes of your neighbors firsthand to the party organization and in turn take the program of the Party back to your neighbors. You have an important job. You are the key to successful Democratic action.[1]

And the Republican national leadership describes the role this way:

> You are the most important link in the Republican organization. Success or failure of the Party at the polls depends in large measure upon you and the thousands of precinct committeemen across the nation. You are the contact between the Party and the voter. Your work contributes most to the success of our Party.[2]

Selecting the Precinct Leader

The precinct leader gets his office in different ways in different states.

In the majority of states, the voters of each party — Democratic and Republican — choose their respective precinct leaders in a primary election. Often, the nominee for precinct leader is unopposed in the primary. Sometimes, however, there are real contests. Beginners in the political arena frequently gain their first personal political victory, or suffer their first political defeat, in a campaign for precinct leadership.

---

[1] *Democratic Precinct Handbook*, Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C.

[2] *Workers Manual: Work and Win*, Republican National Committee, Washington, D.C.

A serious aspirant for the office of precinct leader will inform his party's leader in the ward, city, county (or comparable unit) of his desire to be a candidate. Among other things, the party official will want to know why the potential candidate is interested in getting into politics and will want to assess his probable vote-getting ability.

If the party leader approves the candidate, it will be a major help in his campaign. Even without this approval, however, if the aspirant has campaigned well and knows his neighbors who are members of his party, he has a good chance of being elected precinct leader. Generally, few party members vote for precinct leader in primary contests. If the candidate has worked hard to get out his vote, he can usually win.

Even the losers end up with a nucleus of supporters for another effort — and another election is always coming. A loss at this point is no signal to retire from politics. There's always a large turnover among precinct leaders. In addition, party officials sometimes award a vacant leadership in an adjoining precinct to a likely comer who has demonstrated a certain amount of strength at the polls.

In some areas, precinct leaders are appointed by the county, city, or town party committee. Some get their jobs at county conventions of their parties. In a few areas, precinct caucuses are held to name them.

In other sections of the country, particularly in the South, the selection of the precinct leaders — if there are such formal positions — may be made through informal agreements between the county or local party leaders. Where there are factions within a party, each faction may have its corps of precinct leaders.

The Precinct Leader's Place in the Party

The fact that our political system is decentralized guarantees that the leader at the precinct level is a very important person.

The real power of the leader of the ward, township, or county committee comes from the precinct leader, because he is the foundation of the party organization.

People represent votes, and the precinct leader is the only man in the party organization who is continually in direct contact with the people. Consequently, the precinct leader's judgment is valued highly by party leaders in selecting the nominees who will get the party's endorsement. If candidates are nominated who do not appeal to the precinct leaders, they may "drag their feet" and hurt the party's chances of winning.

The precinct leader is generally consulted on the qualifications of people in his precinct who are being considered for government jobs or other kinds of patronage. Many times the precinct leader is the force behind street paving, new sewers, lighting systems, and other such neighborhood improvement. According to U. S. Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania in his book, *How to Go into Politics*, more public works have resulted directly from the efforts of precinct leaders than from all the efforts of reform movements, taxpayers' leagues, and newspaper crusades.

Importance of Good Precinct Work

Professionals in politics agree on at least one point: elections are won — or lost — in the precincts.

Jacob M. Arvey, Democratic National Committeeman from Illinois, says:

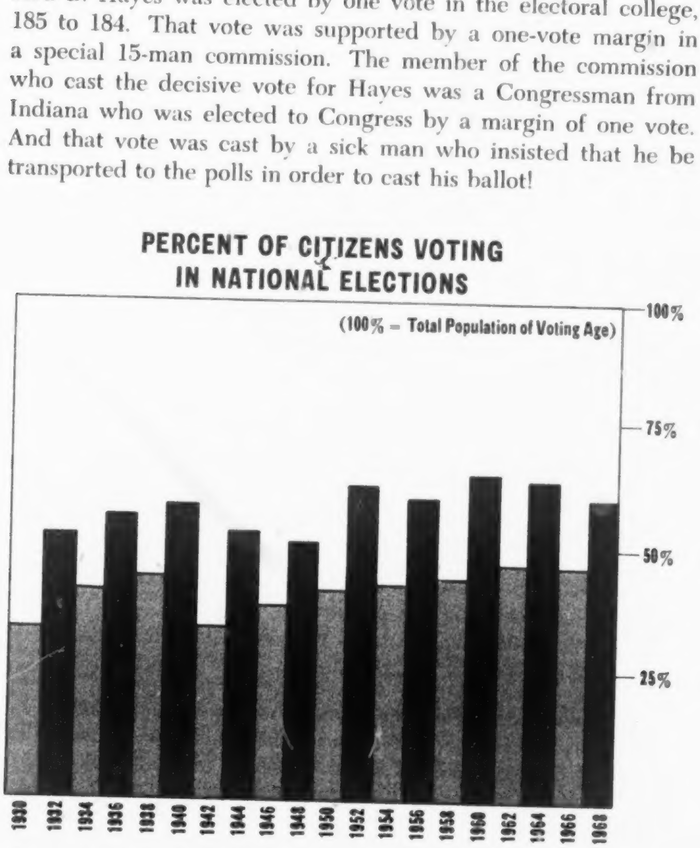
> All politics stems from the ward. If you can't win a ward, you can't win a nation. . . . We used to have a slogan in the 24th Ward of Chicago. When I would convene a meeting of the precinct captains, or ward leaders, to make election plans, I would get up and say: "Never mind about the country, never mind about the state, never mind about the city, never mind about the ward. You take care of your precinct." [1]

Good precinct work is aimed at getting every vote on the party's side into the ballot box. There are many examples of elections that turned on one vote per precinct.

---

[1] From POLITICS U. S. A. edited by James M. Cannon. Copyright © 1960 by James M. Cannon. Reprinted by permission of Doubleday and Company, Inc., pp. 93-94.

In the famous disputed presidential election of 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes was elected by one vote in the electoral college, 185 to 184. That vote was supported by a one-vote margin in a special 15-man commission. The member of the commission who cast the decisive vote for Hayes was a Congressman from Indiana who was elected to Congress by a margin of one vote. And that vote was cast by a sick man who insisted that he be transported to the polls in order to cast his ballot!


PERCENT OF CITIZENS VOTING IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS

Less than one vote per precinct in the State of California in 1916 lost the presidency for Charles Evans Hughes in the upset that put Woodrow Wilson in the White House. Thirty-two years later, California was lost to Thomas E. Dewey by approximately one vote per precinct. And in 1968 Richard M. Nixon won that state's forty electoral votes by an even narrower margin. A loss here would have thrown the election into the House of Representatives. The national margins in both 1960 and 1968 were less than one vote per precinct.

Even in districts where one party has an overwhelming majority, every vote counts. Maintaining morale of party members can be difficult in a precinct where success is only a glimmering hope because a disproportionate number of voters are registered in the opposition party. The intelligent leader recognizes, however, that producing a high percentage of his party's potential vote by well-organized precinct work is a real accomplishment. More important, elections are decided by the total votes cast in all precincts, and a few minority votes cast in one precinct may be the margin of victory when they are added to majorities gained in other precincts.

What Are the Rewards of a Precinct Leader?

The program of the precinct leader and his team requires detail work, hours of time spent talking to all kinds of people, and more hours trying to help some of those who need help. It requires patience and restraint in dealing with party members who are impatient because the party has not yet brought about their ideas of heaven on earth. A precinct leader needs another kind of patience and restraint to keep people who are often incompetent and unreliable — but the only help he can get — working for him.

Why does the precinct leader go on year after year doing all this work? What is in it for him?

Some people just like it. Some just have a great drive to organize things and happen to settle on precinct work instead of some other community activity. Others have been brought up in political families and assume it as a way of life and a community responsibility.

Some have a genuine drive to work for good government and realize that a person can be most effective in his political party. Still others have political ambitions and figure the way to realize their ambitions is to start at the bottom and work their way up.

But whatever the feelings and motivation of the precinct leader, it is he who organizes and turns out the votes that spell victory for the party's candidates.

Weeks before the overwhelming Democratic victory in the 1958 elections, strong indications of the potential winning party were appearing. In the report of a nationwide Gallup Poll, George Gallup, Director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, said:

> In the all-important "battle of the precincts," Democratic party workers are scoring heavily on their Republican counterparts this year. . . .
>
> Democratic volunteer workers outnumber Republican party workers in this campaign by about 2 to 1. Projecting survey results for the total adult civilian population, here were the respective forces in each party's "campaign army" as of early October: Democratic Party Workers, 2,100,000; Republicans, 1,100,000.[1]

The evidence that precinct work pays off was clearly written in the results of the election, Tuesday, November 4, 1958.

Organizing a Precinct "From Scratch"

Generally, a new precinct leader will take over some files and some regular volunteer help from his predecessor. If so, he is that much better off. It is useful, however, to show all the steps in organizing a precinct "from scratch" so that the reader can have the full picture.

The new precinct leader walking into an unorganized voting district should face up to the realization that he can't be a "lone wolf," that he is going to need help. His first objective is to get a group of people to assist him in reaching the voters in his district.

Precinct leaders may give helpers the name of "block captains," "section captains," or simply "precinct aides." For the sake of having a standard term, they will be referred to in this book as *block captains*.

Ideally, the precinct leader will try to enlist as regular block captains enough volunteers to cover his entire precinct, each one being assigned the responsibility for keeping in touch with the voters in 15 to 30 dwelling units.

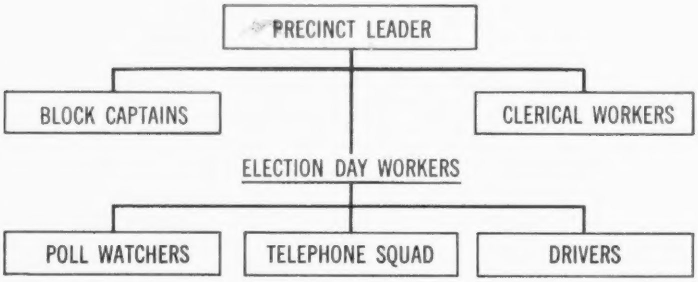
---

[1] The New York *Herald-Tribune*, October 22, 1958.

Recruiting Block Captains

In recruiting his block captains, the precinct leader will find his best prospects in three groups of people: housewives, retired people, and young politicians. With this preliminary knowledge of what kind of people are his best prospects, the precinct leader starts his drive to recruit block captains.

PRECINCT ORGANIZATION CHART



Larger precincts may have a more elaborate organization, but most precincts are probably not as well organized as this chart would indicate. In many states each precinct has 2 leaders for each party.

Taking the registration list of the voters of his party, he checks off all the names of people he already knows and then calls on them, in person or by telephone, to enlist their active aid. After a while, his calls will turn up members of the party who appear to be good prospects for the precinct organization. It is his job then to enlist the prospect as an active worker, willing to take on an assignment as a block captain.

It is the exceptional precinct leader who will have the energy and ability to build an organization of block captains to cover his whole district for one election, let alone to keep it going year after year. There are also leaders who prefer to handle their job alone, either on the theory of "do it yourself, if you want it done" or simply because they are not good at delegating responsibility and getting people to work for them. Such precinct leaders will be doing very well if they manage to keep an up-to-date list of voters of their party and turn most of them out on election day.

Registration

Having recruited whatever block captains and clerical workers he can, the precinct leader then prepares his precinct organization for their first job: getting the party voters to register.

> Not the least of the committeeman's [precinct leader's] duties is to see that the voter is qualified to vote by compliance with the local registration laws. In fact, this is his most important responsibility. Obviously, a voter who isn't registered can't vote. And since potential voters are notoriously negligent about this, many votes will be lost unless the citizen is jogged and reminded by someone, which means the committeeman, that he has not yet registered, and is informed of the time and place where he can qualify himself to vote.[1]

Precinct leaders and block captains are seldom surprised to learn how many members of their party are either not registered or have allowed their registration to lapse because they have failed to vote. Countless election results reflect the importance of registration.

In 1958, Maine, traditionally a Republican stronghold, went Democratic by a 2-to-1 margin largely because of a comprehensive registration drive. Commenting on the election results, *U.S. News and World Report* said:

> Leaders of organized labor worked hard in the campaign. Most endorsed the Democratic ticket and helped to roll up a record Democratic registration in the state. In Portland, registration drives put close to 1,000 new Democrats on the voting lists. Half that many new Republican registrations were made.

A registration drive was a vitally important part of Kennedy's campaign for the presidency in 1960, as Theodore H. White explains in *The Making of the President, 1960:*

> Next, the strategy of registration. Of the 107,000,000 Americans old enough to vote in 1960, approximately 40,000,000, it

---

[1] Hugh D. Scott, Jr., *How To Go Into Politics.* New York: The John Day Company, 1949, p. 12.

> was estimated, had not bothered to register. Students of politics argue this figure both ways — the moralists saying that it is every man's civic duty to register and vote, the realists that those too indifferent or too ignorant to vote should be left undisturbed, for their vote is valueless. For the Kennedys, however, the compelling consideration was the generally accepted political guess that of the 40,000,000 unregistered voters, 70 per cent would vote Democratic if they could be pushed to the polls. Thus a massive registration drive would be mounted to bring 10,000,000 new names to the voting lists; if the new 10,000,000 broke as expected, it would mean 7,000,000 more Democratic votes.
>
> This drive was to be entrusted to a flamboyant and devoted Kennedy Congressman from Trenton, New Jersey, Frank "Topper" Thompson, a specialist in registration drives in his own district. (Within two months, Thompson was to be directing fifty state registration chairmen, two hundred key county registration chairmen and a paid staff of eight highly trained "leaders" headed by a thirty-three year old professor of English.) In all, the Kennedy efforts combined with the counterpart Nixon drive were to jump the 1960 vote over the 1956 count by 6,800,000.[1]

Timing the registration drive. Most states have two arrangements for registration. The first can be called *central registration*. A person may register in this way at the board of elections in the county courthouse or town hall during its regular office hours. Central registration can be done over a long period of time, usually several months during the summer.

The second kind of registration is *precinct registration*. Anywhere from a week or two before an election to two months before, depending on the state, registration places are hired in or near every precinct and the registration books for that precinct are brought to them to provide a more convenient opportunity for people to register. This registration period is generally short, anywhere from one day to a week, at certain stated hours.

The precinct leader will generally time his registration drive to start about a week ahead of precinct registration days and continue through the last precinct registration day.

In four states — Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia —

---

[1] From *The Making of the President* by Theodore H. White. Copyright © 1961 by Atheneum House Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

it is also necessary to pay a poll tax to qualify as a voter. The last day to pay poll taxes is usually set long before precinct registration days, often several months before. In three of these states, political workers attempting to get out their vote have to conduct a drive for poll tax payment *and* a registration drive. In Texas, however, payment of the poll tax automatically registers a citizen as a voter.

Preparation for registration drive. There are two steps in preparing for the registration drive.

The first is strictly clerical work. The leader and his helpers make out two 3" x 5" cards for every voter on the registration list. They then sort these cards by streets and check them by a street-by-street phone book. In doing this, they will have no cards for a number of addresses and only one card for other addresses where there is probably more than one eligible voter residing. These gaps represent people who did not register the previous year, either through negligence or because they are new residents or newly eligible voters.

When the clerical work has gone as far as it can go, it is time for the second step in preparing the registration drive: holding a meeting of the block captains and other workers to brief them on their jobs and pass out assignments. The precinct leader has to prepare very carefully for this meeting. It has four parts.

First, the precinct leader makes sure that all his block captains and workers know one another, so he introduces them all around.

The *second* thing the leader does at this meeting is to explain to his workers that a duplicate card file has been prepared for almost every dwelling unit and voter in the precinct, but there are still gaps. The first job now is to fill in the gaps. Door-to-door canvassing must be done to pick up information on those homes where the phone is unlisted and there is no record of anyone's having registered. Much of the final checking can be done by telephone, of course.

One very important kind of voter to be located among the unregistered is the *first voter*. These are chiefly young people who have just turned 21. They are practically all good prospects, since they will be making a voting decision for the first time. The kindness of the party worker who first helps them in getting qualified to vote can be a powerful factor in orienting them toward the party that gives them this assistance.

The efficient block captain is especially alert in finding all absentees — invalids, people who will be away from home on business, and those in the armed forces — and then offers to make arrangements to get the necessary registration forms and follow through on getting the absentee ballots to those who need this help. Many close elections have been decided by the votes of absentees.

The *third* thing the precinct leader does is to explain to the block captains that a party's precinct registration drive is aimed solely at locating the unregistered and persuading them to register. The unregistered will fall into three categories: "saints," "savables," "sinners."

The "saints" are in the precinct leader's party. "Savables" are so-called independents, or those weak in party loyalty. They can be swayed by a good leader. "Sinners" are on the "wrong" side; that is, they vote with the other party.

The primary purpose of either party is to get the "saints" and "savables" registered. The "sinners" are left to the opposition to find.

The "saints" probably will be interested in registering. The "savables" may be indifferent or uninterested, but once they are persuaded to register by the representative of one party, they will generally vote for that party's ticket.

Each captain, accordingly, takes his completed card file and pulls all the "sinner" cards and puts them aside. The remaining "saints" and "savables" constitute the people he is interested in getting registered. Most of them will be registered already if there is some form of "permanent registration" and voters are carried on the books as long as they vote regularly. Where the law provides that each voter must register personally for every election, of course, the captain's job is bigger; he has to get all his "saints" and "savables" registered each year.

The *fourth* thing the leader does is to explain to the precinct workers that the primary job is getting the "saints" and "savables" actually to go to the precinct registration place and register.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING[1]

(Through 1969)*

State or Territory	*Must Live In[2]* *State*	*County*	*Precinct*	*Literacy test*	*Special Residence Qualifications[3]*
Alabama	1 yr.	6 mo.	3 mo.		
Alaska	1 yr.		30 da.	★	★
Arizona	1 yr.	30 da.	30 da.		★
Arkansas	1 yr.	6 mo.	1 mo.		
California	1 yr.	90 da.	54 da.	★	★
Colorado	1 yr.	90 da.	20 da.		★
Connecticut	6 mo.		6 mo.	★	★
Delaware	1 yr.	3 mo.	30 da.	★	★
Florida	1 yr.	6 mo.			★
Georgia	1 yr.	6 mo.			
Hawaii	1 yr.		3 mo.	★	
Idaho	6 mo.	30 da.			★
Illinois	1 yr.	90 da.	30 da.		★
Indiana	6 mo.	60 da. (4)	30 da. (7)		
Iowa	6 mo.	60 da.	10 da.		
Kansas	6 mo.	30 da. (4)	30 da.		★
Kentucky	1 yr.	6 mo.	60 da.		
Louisiana	1 yr.	6 mo.	3 mo. (5)	★	
Maine	6 mo.	3 mo.	3 mo. (6)	★	★
Maryland	1 yr.	6 mo.	6 mo.		★
Massachusetts	1 yr.		6 mo. (6)	★	★
Michigan	6 mo.		(8)		★
Minnesota	6 mo.		30 da.		★
Mississippi	2 yrs.		1 yr.		
Missouri	1 yr.	60 da.			★
Montana	1 yr.	30 da.			
Nebraska	6 mo.	40 da.	10 da.		★
Nevada	6 mo.	30 da.	10 da.		
New Hampshire	6 mo.			★	★
New Jersey	6 mo.	40 da.			★
New Mexico	1 yr.	90 da.	30 da.		★
New York	3 mo.	3 mo.	3 mo.		★
North Carolina	1 yr.		30 da.	★	★
North Dakota	1 yr.	90 da.	30 da.		★
Ohio	1 yr.	40 da.	40 da.		★
Oklahoma	6 mo.	2 mo.	20 da.		★
Oregon	6 mo.		30 da.		★
Pennsylvania	90 da.		60 da. (9)		
Rhode Island	1 yr.		6 mo.		
South Carolina	1 yr.	6 mo.	3 mo.	★	
South Dakota	1 yr.	90 da.	30 da.		
Tennessee	1 yr.	3 mo.			
Texas	1 yr.	6 mo.	6 mo.		★
Utah	1 yr.	4 mo.	60 da.		
Vermont	1 yr.		3 mo. (4)		★
Virginia	1 yr.	6 mo.	30 da.	★	
Washington	1 yr.	90 da.	30 da.	★	★
West Virginia	1 yr.	60 da.			
Wisconsin	6 mo.		10 da.		
Wyoming	1 yr.	60 da.	10 da.	★	★

(1) Citizenship is a prerequisite in each state, and some have established a minimum period of time before which a new citizen may not vote. In Pennsylvania one must have been a citizen for 90 days in order to be eligible to vote; in Mississippi, for 2 years. In all but four states the minimum voting age at present is 21. It is 18 in Georgia and Kentucky, 19 in Alaska, and 20 in Hawaii.

(2) In Louisiana, *parish* is comparable to *county*.

---

* ADAPTED FROM *The Book of the States,* 1968–1969, courtesy of The Council of State Governments.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING (cont.)

(Through 1969)*

State or Territory	*Must Live In[2]*			*Literacy test*	*Special Residence Qualifications[3]*
	State	*County*	*Precinct*		
Guam	2 yrs.	......	90 da.	....	....
Puerto Rico	1 yr.	......	1 yr.	....	....
Virgin Islands	1 yr.	......	60 da.	★	....

(3) Many states have established special residence qualifications for presidential elections, allowing new residents who have not yet met the regular requirements to vote.

(4) Township.

(5) Municipality — 4 months; precinct — 3 months.

(6) Residence in city or town.

(7) Except town elections if not required by town ordinances.

(8) By the fifth Friday preceding the election.

(9) Persons qualified to vote and moving within 60 days preceding the election may vote in the election.

No state has property requirements for voting in a general election, although some states do have such requirements for voting on bond issues or special assessments. Since January, 1964, the poll tax has been prohibited as a requirement for voting in national elections.

Manning the registration place. There are two kinds of personnel in the registration place: official registrars and party "watchers" or "checkers."

The official registrars are people who are hired temporarily by the board of elections or the local government to register voters. Usually the law specifies that both parties shall have equal representation in appointing the personnel for each registration place, so the registrars ordinarily are recommended for their job by the precinct leader of each party.

In addition, the precinct leader may station a representative of his party in the registration place to check off names of people as they register. The checker passes these lists on to the leader, who pulls the cards from his master file so that cards remaining in the file represent people who have not yet registered.

Usually the same people who act as registrars and watchers at registration time later are chosen to be poll clerks and party watchers on election day, since they are already familiar with the books, the procedures, and the voters.

Turning voters out. Working in a precinct has been compared to harvesting a crop of apples. The apple farmer knows that each apple has to be located, picked by hand, and put into a basket. Many voters show about the same interest in registering and voting that apples show in being picked. They have to be

STATE REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS*

Type of Registration

	Some form of Permanent		*Periodic*		
State or Territory	*State-wide*	*Some areas*	*State-wide*	*Some areas*	*Frequency*
Alabama	★	....	....	....	....
Alaska	....	★	....	....	....
Arizona	★	....	....	....	....
Arkansas	★	....	....	....	....
California	★	....	....	....	....
Colorado	★	....	....	....	....
Connecticut	★	....	....	....	....
Delaware	★	....	....	....	....
Florida	★	....	....	....	....
Georgia	★	....	....	....	....
Hawaii	★	....	....	....	....
Idaho	★	....	....	....	....
Illinois	★	....	....	....	....
Indiana	★	....	....	....	....
Iowa	....	★	....	★	4 years
Kansas	★	....	....	....	....
Kentucky	★	....	....	....	....
Louisiana	....	★	....	★	4 years
Maine	★	....	....	....	....
Maryland	★	....	....	....	....
Massachusetts	★	....	....	....	....
Michigan	★	....	....	....	....
Minnesota	★	....	....	....	....
Mississippi	★	....	....	....	....
Missouri	....	★	....	★	4 years
Montana	★	....	....	....	....
Nebraska	....	★	....	....	....
Nevada	★	....	....	....	....
New Hampshire	★	....	....	....	....
New Jersey	★	....	....	....	....
New Mexico	★	....	....	....	....
New York	★	....	....	....	....
North Carolina	★	....	....	....	....
North Dakota	....	....	....	....	....
Ohio	....	★	....	....	....
Oklahoma	★	....	....	....	....
Oregon	★	....	....	....	....
Pennsylvania	★	....	....	....	....
Rhode Island	★	....	....	....	....
South Carolina	....	....	★	...	Decennial
South Dakota	★	....	....	....	....
Tennessee	★	....	....	....	....
Texas	....	....	....	★	Annual
Utah	★	....	....	....	....
Vermont	....	....	★	....	Every elec.
Virginia	(1)	....	....	....	....
Washington	★	....	....	....	....
West Virginia	★	....	....	....	....
Wisconsin	....	★	....	....	....
Wyoming	★	....	....	....	....
Guam	★	....	....	....	....
Puerto Rico	★	....	....	....	....
Virgin Islands	★	....	....	....	....

(1) All areas except in some cities.

---

* ADAPTED FROM *The Book of the States*, 1968–1969, courtesy of The Council of State Governments.

Registration may be permanent or periodic: (1) permanent — voter registers once and his name remains on the register unless he changes his residence, dies, or is otherwise disqualified, provided, in most states, he votes with some regularity; (2) periodic — complete registration of all voters at designated time intervals (frequency column). Most states use the same method state-wide, but in some, the method varies by area.

called, talked to, and led to the polls, one by one. Like apples, they also bruise easily and must be handled with care.

Having briefed the precinct workers and manned the registration place, the leader then gets his voters out to be registered. Generally this is a three-step process:

1. Reminder mailing. A card or letter is mailed to each "saint" and each "savable" reminding him that registration time is near.
2. Careful track is kept of each voter as he registers so that the leader and block captains know at all times by looking at the card file who has still not registered. Since cards are pulled as voters register, the remaining cards represent those who have not yet "done their duty."
3. The cards of those who have not registered are referred to the block captains, who make either a personal or a telephone call on the delinquent.

An all-out job of telephoning is done on the final registration day, and if the number of unregistered persons warrants, a special corps of automobile drivers and baby-sitters is called into action to get potential voters to the registration place.

Between Registration and Election Day

Registration lists are considered public information, and precinct leaders are entitled to examine them.

As soon as the registration books are closed, the precinct leader and his block captains compare the registration list with their card files and bring both sets of cards with names of their party's voters up to date. They also scrutinize the opposition party list to uncover possible "phonies" and make preparations for challenging these ineligibles on election day.

From the lists, the leader and his block captains check off "doubtful" voters who may need extra persuasion through a friendly visit before election day. These are "neighborly" visits, with politics discussed tactfully.

The interim period is a vital time for assembling information. Block captains canvass their assigned dwellings to inquire whether any voter will need transportation to the polls on election day. Will the lady of the house require a baby-sitter so that she can get out to vote?

During the campaign, the precinct leader and his clerical aides get out campaign literature to rally the "saints" and convert the "savables"; encourage attendance at the party's political meetings; and co-operate in carrying out campaign strategy.

In this period, the precinct leader makes sure that absentee ballots are received by those who need them. Various time limits are prescribed in state laws covering the receipt of marked ballots from absentees.

In the week before election day (Tuesday), a special mailing is prepared, timed for delivery to both the faithful and doubtful voters on the Friday, Saturday, or Monday preceding election day. The notice includes date of the election, location of the polling place, and the hours for voting.

Election Day

All the work of organizing a committee of block workers, of inducing people to register, of ringing doorbells and telephones is aimed toward election day, and the effort is not complete until the last vote cast in the precinct is counted.

Election Officials

Well in advance of election day the precinct leader selects his party's representatives who will serve inside the polls. As previously noted, they usually will be the same people who worked on registration.

Months or weeks before the election, officials to man the polls will be appointed by the county elections board. These officials supervise the voting and are paid about $10.00 or $15.00 a day. Normally both parties are allowed equal representation at each polling place.

In most places, official election jobs are open to persons nominated by their political parties. The precinct captain usually is extremely interested in getting his own workers appointed to these jobs — for obvious reasons.

The number of officials — judges, clerks, inspectors — depends upon state election laws, the size of the precinct, and other conditions. Generally at least four people serve in these official posts at each precinct polling place.

In addition, political parties are customarily allowed to have a limited number of watchers or challengers at each polling place. These party representatives are sometimes volunteers, sometimes are paid by the party.

The judges and clerks check the qualifications of the voters, while the party watchers and challengers are present not only to prevent fraudulent acts but also to protect the rights of qualified voters of their party. Persons chosen as either election officials or party poll watchers should know the special laws applying to election day and the polls. In some areas, they are required to take a special training course.

Because of the vital importance of poll watchers and challengers, the precinct leader prefers to have his party represented by alert, aggressive individuals who can cope with trying or unusual situations. (Examples of such situations will be found on pages 46-47.)

Polling place officials also should have the physical stamina needed to withstand the rigors of election hours, which often stretch from 6:00 A.M. to well after midnight. Well-briefed poll officials are on duty at least one-half hour before the polls open to make sure that voting begins on time, that only authorized persons are on the premises, that the ballot boxes are empty or, in areas that use voting machines, that no votes have been entered on the machine before voting starts. They know the proper authorities to call if the polls are not opened on schedule or are improperly staffed, or if other infractions occur.

Selecting the right kind of officials for the polls frequently means the difference between victory and defeat in elections.

Getting Out the Vote

After choosing his staff of officials and helpers, the good precinct leader can neither serve in an official capacity himself nor retire to the side lines. Election day is the real test of his administration. He must be ready for all possible emergencies: for failure of workers to appear, for an unexpected number of voters needing help, or for anything that could go wrong. He is the captain who directs his troops in the two major tasks of the day: getting the voters to the polls and manning the polls fully until the last vote is accurately tabulated.

To get out the vote, he will need special workers for:

Vote checking
Manning headquarters and telephoning
Transportation and baby-sitting

Vote checkers. Vote checkers are key people in a precinct organization's campaign to get out the vote. To be effective, they work in teams of two. The number of teams necessary to do the job depends upon the number of voters in a precinct.

Here is how the teams operate. As they go on duty at the polls, they are armed with the alphabetically arranged card file of registered voters from their party and a typed list of the registrants in alphabetical order.

One member of the team holds the list of registered voters and strikes off the name of each voter as he arrives at the polling place to vote. The other team member, meanwhile, has set up the "shoe-box game" or some variation of it. Two shoe boxes are labeled "Has Voted" and "Hasn't Voted." When election day begins, the "Hasn't Voted" box is filled with the cards containing the names of the "saints" and those "savables" who appear to have been "saved." The object is to empty that box, transferring the cards to the "Has Voted" box as each voter casts his ballot.

At stated intervals, messengers run the "Has Voted" cards to the precinct headquarters, where the corresponding cards are pulled from the master file, giving the headquarters crew an instant check on the number of people still to be got to the polls.

Precinct workers who have served as block captains and know the voters make good checkers.

In some states, election officials permit checkers to set up a table and their card files inside the polling places. Where this is *not* allowed, the job of checking has to be done outside. This can be much more difficult, but the precinct leader who has recruited enough aides will be able to meet situations peculiar to his area.

Telephoning the vote. As the voting reports of the checkers from the polls come in, cards of the "Hasn't Voted" group are pulled at precinct headquarters. Around 1:00 or 2:00 P.M., the telephone callers go into action. The size of the precinct will determine the number of workers needed in this operation. Many precinct leaders set up a special committee for telephoning and put it through "dry run" training before the election.

Drivers and sitters. Volunteer automobile drivers are on hand or in touch with precinct headquarters at all times. The precinct is divided into sections, and assignments are made so that prompt service is assured for voters who require transportation to the polls. The baby-sitters are just what the word implies.

Assignments for both transportation and baby-sitting usually are made up well in advance from the information gleaned through the house-to-house check by the block captains. Assignments made on election day itself are emergency ones.

Watching the Count

The Honest Ballot Association of New York reports that at least one million votes were stolen in the 1952 election, and estimated beforehand that the number in the 1958 election would probably about equal that. The Association, quoted in the *National Municipal Review,* asserted:

> Election frauds are increasing. Nearly every area in the United States — big city, small town, cracker-barrel village — has some type of election fraud. It may be a national election or one involving local school boards, judges or highways.

A congressional elections investigator declared in 1956 that "approximately 50 public figures who occupy high state and municipal offices today would not have won them had the election been carried out according to law."

Thus it is imperative that the precinct leader makes sure election officials representing his party are alert and trained to recognize fraudulent or illegal acts. State laws usually are very exact about how the polling place is to be set up, about procedures covering the ballot boxes or voting machines, about the handling and marking of ballots, even down to what constitutes an "X."

By the time for counting the ballots, many election officials (including poll watchers) are tired, hungry, or disgruntled to the point of inattention and negligence, yet this is the most crucial point in the election. When alertness fades, dishonest judges may call votes improperly, or a dishonest clerk recording votes properly called may reverse the tallies.

Even before the count starts and while voting is in progress, dishonest acts can be performed. Here, briefly, are some of the commonly practiced frauds a precinct leader will caution poll watchers about:

1. **Spoiling ballots.** Usually paper ballots are invalidated if torn, disfigured, or marked extraneously. Thus a dishonest election official can nullify a hostile paper ballot by tearing it slightly or marking it with graphite concealed beneath a fingernail.
2. **Trickery by advice.** Under the guise of offering guidance to the blind, illiterate, or handicapped, some dishonest election officials mislead the handicapped and the gullible into voting the way the officials want. An alert poll watcher can prevent this.
3. **Chain voting.** A blank ballot is taken outside the polls by a dishonest voter, who deposits a blank piece of paper which looks like a ballot. The ballot is marked outside by the operator of the chain and given to a controlled voter, who conceals it in his pocket. In the voting booth, the voter transfers the blank ballot to his pocket, presents the previously marked ballot for deposit, and carries out the blank ballot to the operator, who then marks it and starts the chain over again. Use of this fraud insures the operator that the

vote is being cast the "right way," usually for a nominal sum paid the voters.

4. **Crowding the polls**. Contriving to line up "stooges" at the polls at the end of the day and ordering each to remain in the voting booth the maximum permissible time is sometimes practiced to dissuade late-coming, honest voters from waiting in line for their chance to vote. This can be countered by getting voters out early in the day and by calling time on voters who stay too long in the booths.

There are many other ways of "swinging a precinct," and all of them are given ample study by careful poll watchers. The good precinct leader encourages his party's representatives to follow this advice:

> "Be polite, but firm. Don't allow yourself to be browbeaten by anyone. You have rights, established by law. Assert them courteously."

Election Night

Most precinct leaders gather all their aides at headquarters to await the results of the day's voting and to celebrate — or to console one another. Whatever the results, the precinct leader makes sure the work of his volunteers is recognized with a personal expression of appreciation to all who turned in a good performance. Even in defeat, advances made or points gained should not go unnoticed.

It's Year-Round Work

The best precinct leaders are those who are around their home neighborhoods a great deal. They are people who know the neighbors and see them often enough so that they have a pretty good idea of what they are thinking and doing. The leader's aim is to win their confidence through friendliness, integrity, and service. It's a year-round job of making friends — and influencing voters. The best time to build a following is when no election is imminent.

Working with Voters

The successful leader makes it a point to call on his neighbors and establish friendly relations. He makes visiting a pleasant habit — not too frequent, but often enough to reflect an interest in the voter.

Above all, he's a good listener. He lets the other fellow talk. The information he gains about the voters becomes valuable knowledge when the time comes to get people out to vote.

He serves his neighbors by offering assistance in times of adversity or temporary emergency. In numerous cases, he may be the only person in the neighborhood with connections at city hall or courthouse who can give advice and aid in matters that call for dealing with the authorities.

One successful precinct leader is the first person newcomers to a neighborhood meet in a certain midwestern city. He makes a "welcome" call shortly after they move in. One of his most appreciated services is furnishing information about schools, stores, and churches. He may also offer to expedite the turning on of utilities and the installation of phones.

A good precinct leader is in the forefront in stimulating community projects of all kinds. He helps with Community Chest and other drives in his neighborhood, not only because he is a good citizen but also because it enables him to meet his voters in the role of good citizen as well as a partisan seeking votes. He is known and respected by local authorities and can enlist their aid when the neighbors need help with legitimate "around home" problems.

One astute precinct leader in New York State puts out a mimeographed "inside politics" letter to all the voters in his precinct every few months. It carries brief reports of political events that may have been covered in the newspapers, but overlooked by most people. This chatty publication gives the voter a "feel" of local, state, and national political developments. The precinct leader gains a reputation for being a well-informed political observer, one whose advice can be safely sought and accepted at election time. In 1958, this leader carried his precinct for Rockefeller with a larger vote than the record turnout Eisenhower received in 1956.

Summed up, the successful precinct committeeman is busy every day of the year — a personable, energetic, helpful neighbor and citizen.

Keeping the Aides Interested

Between elections, the precinct leader makes a special effort to keep his block captains and other volunteers interested and working. A once-a-year social event, such as a picnic or a party at the leader's home, helps to boost morale.

There usually is a continuous need for clerical work to keep cards up to date, to mail literature, and so on. Block captains can keep constant watch on their assigned dwelling units to make sure that all new voters are located, called upon, and registered.

In terms of concrete rewards, there is little the precinct leader can do for his block captains. In the old days, those who wanted government jobs would be taken care of. Today most of the government jobs are on the "civil service" list. Jobs that are available are likely to be unattractive to precinct workers.

There are, however, a few things the precinct leader can do for his workers. Precinct leaders make it a point to become well acquainted with the local officeholders — mayor, councilmen, judges, court clerks, town or county clerk, state legislators, and congressmen. Every citizen has occasional contacts with the government on matters such as building permits, public contracts, tax assessments, licenses, military service, and so on. The precinct leader, by being able to go to the right man, can often expedite matters within the bounds of propriety, arrange for adjustments where there has been a misunderstanding or a rule has been misapplied by an overzealous or careless official.

When a voter comes to a block captain with a problem of this kind and the precinct leader can get results for him, the block captain goes back to the voter looking like a very important figure who can slash red tape and get results. Block captains, like anybody else, are not averse to creating the impression that they are influential.

The precinct leader can also make a point of having high officials join the workers at their annual get-together. Such personal contact with important officeholders is in itself rewarding to people. If the leader can arrange for a congressman or some one of like status to tell the precinct workers how important their work is to the party, the community, and to him personally, it is a very helpful kind of recognition.

But in the final analysis, the precinct leader's ability to hold a good precinct organization together depends on his personality and his ability to make the workers understand that their work is important. Just as there is no substitute for victory at the polls, nothing can take the place of real leadership at the precinct level.

From Precinct Leader to Higher Leadership

The precinct leader who wants to rise higher in his party's leadership must demonstrate his ability to turn out a good vote in his precinct and to do so consistently. Votes make the only noise listened to by the party's top leadership. At the core of all the votes the precinct leader gets in any election are the individuals he has brought together as his volunteer precinct workers.

A calculation of the *sure* votes a precinct leader can command as a result of whipping together a tight, loyal organization might run this way:

1. The two election officials he had a hand in selecting; their wives, grown children, parents — at least 6 votes
2. Three poll watchers and challengers who also have "family votes" — at least 10 votes
3. Four vote checkers and their "family votes" — at least another 12 votes
4. Three telephone-headquarters workers and their families — at least 10 votes
5. Drivers, sitters, block captains, their families — at least 20 votes

The total is a possible 58 votes. Add the votes of the precinct leader himself, his wife, his grown children, other adult family members, or close friends, and the total could exceed 65. With this number of votes as a base, he generally can carry the precinct in a primary election.

These 65 votes, however, form only the bottom layer on which the precinct leader must build. The top layers and the icing on the cake are the other votes he captures in the precinct.

Along with being friendly and helpful, the precinct leader strives to learn what people want. Most people are interested in something. The range is inexhaustible: golf, woodworking, bird watching, their church, their children, their school. Cultivating them on that basis, the precinct leader wins their regard, if not their friendship. In a way, the precinct leader, like all good salesmen, talks to people in terms of their interest to create a favorable impression of himself and his product. If they like him, they'll vote for his ticket or ask for his political advice.

The same thing is true when he sympathizes with the pet peeves of neighbors.

Learning all he can about their likes, dislikes, hobbies, and inclinations, the precinct leader notes this information on the cards in his master file. A quick look at the card, and he knows what to say to interest each person and what subjects to avoid.

After a year or two of this friendly, low-pressure type of "politicking," a precinct leader will find that he has become a political leader in the eyes of many neighbors. Even those on the other side of the political fence will lose their reluctance to seek his advice. Perhaps they'll be slightly apologetic, but the committeeman will know he has arrived if they say: "John, I'm not on your side, but you know what's going on. Give me the low-down on the candidates this year."

If the precinct leader can get a member of the opposition to "split" his ticket and vote for even one or two of the leader's candidates who need help, he's making great political strides.

Along with displaying his vote-getting abilities, the precinct leader with aspirations for higher party leadership demonstrates his party loyalty by operating within the party organization. This means supporting decisions made on the upper level and avoiding the label of troublemaker. It of course does not mean that he lowers himself or approves improper manipulations.

Nor does it mean abject surrender in any intraparty dispute that requires a firm stand and resolute action. If a precinct leader is compelled to fight, he fights as cleanly and fairly as possible. He knows that after a party fight, the principals have to get together to win in November. If the split isn't healed, resentful workers "sit on their hands." Resentful voters don't vote — or vote for the other party.

A precinct leader's decision to fight, however, will depend upon whether he knows he has the votes to win. Sounding out his support beforehand is simply prudent insurance.

A newcomer to politics in an eastern city has explained what it means to be involved in a fight and what it takes to get elected:

> I was so naïve four or five years ago that a fellow came around to me and said: "Would you like to run for Committeeman?" and I said, "Sure, I want to be a good citizen — if I can help out, I'll run for Committeeman."
>
> Then the county chairman heard that I was running and decided to run another candidate against me and threw me off the ballot. My wife and I, nevertheless, went out and did a little doorbell ringing, and we managed to get about 11 votes in. . . . In a primary, you don't have to have many votes, as you probably know, but my opponent checked the number of ballots about 6:00 P.M., and being a smart politician, went out and got a carload and brought 'em in and beat me 12 to 11, or something like that.
>
> That was my baptism in vote-getting and one reason, I suppose, why I'm concerned about ringing those doorbells and organizing . . . because the next time around, I was running and we had a different opponent this time, but we went over every vote that we had and one way or another we got them all out and we had about 50 votes and our opponent had about 5 . . . so that we were in — and that's the way to do it. . . .[1]

A precinct leader will find he can go farther after his "baptism" if he cultivates his party leaders. But he must learn to recognize when he has received a commitment, as opposed to a friendly brush-off. Most politicians of any stature depend on a friendly personality to charm all comers. Only time, experience, and association with those in power will aid the rising politician in learning upon whom he can depend.

---

[1] From a transcript of a panel session on politics, held in Syracuse, New York.

CASE PROBLEM 3

The New Leader in the Fifth Precinct

Jim Miller, a relative newcomer to Springville, on September 1 is appointed leader for his party in the 5th precinct. Precinct registration days are set for October 1-7, and the election, of course, is scheduled for the Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

Three Facts:

1. Permanent personal registration is used in Springville, so that those who have registered and voted regularly have been carried over and are already on the registration books.
2. In Jim Miller's state, registration lists do not indicate party affiliation. Precinct leaders must obtain this information.
3. Registration lists are up to date as of the last general election.

The city leader gives Jim a notebook kept by the former precinct leader, containing names of people in the precinct. Included in the notebook are the names of all *registered* voters. The former precinct leader has noted affiliation after each name. Where a person's party affiliation is not known, it is marked "unknown."

The notebook also contains the names of 60 unregistered people, 30 of whom are known members of Miller's party.

The city leader also gives Jim some registration and voting information about his precinct as of the previous election.

Jim organizes his information. (See charts on page 54.)

In addition to organizing his information, Jim analyzes the precinct. It has four contrasting sections:

Area *A* is composed of high-income families with large houses set on large lots.

5TH PRECINCT — LAST PREVIOUS ELECTION

Party	*Registered*	%	*Vote*	%
Ours	280	40	314	48.3
Opposition	315	45	336	51.7
Unknown	105	15		
TOTAL	700	100%	650	100%

ELIGIBLES NOT REGISTERED (Leader's Estimate)

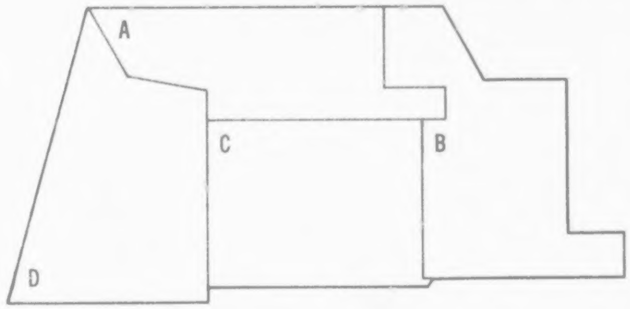
1. Newly qualified on residence requirement Newly qualified on age requirement	75 or 80
2. Number of people who have never registered or who have allowed their registration to lapse	150
Of these 150, the number identified by name in the back of the notebook	60
Of these 60, the number identified as affiliated with our party	30

Area *B* is a newly built-up area composed mainly of younger families with small children. Most of the breadwinners here work at the three new manufacturing plants on the other side of town. There are two "garden apartments" in area *B*.

Area *C* is an older section of town than *B*, although the income range is about the same or slightly higher, say, $6,000 to $12,000 per family per year. Many residents in Area *C* have lived there a number of years and include small businessmen, professional people, men who work for older companies in town, with a sprinkling of newer families.

Area *D*, a few blocks from the downtown business district, is a low-income section.

Jim decides that his first problem is getting the potential new voters (75 or 80) registered by the end of the registration week, October 7.



MAP OF JIM MILLER'S PRECINCT

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Comment on what Jim thought was his "first problem."
2. How can Jim apply the "saints, savables, sinners" concept to the problem of getting newly *qualified* voters registered?
3. In which area of the precinct might Jim expect to find:
   - (a) Most of those who have just come of voting age?
   - (b) Most of those who have newly fulfilled residence requirements?
4. What factors should Jim consider in looking for workers?
5. To find dwelling units where no voters are registered, Jim uses his notebook list and marks such dwellings on a precinct map. Then he reasons that he can get the names of people living in these dwellings in these ways:
   - (a) By checking the map against a street-by-street telephone directory
   - (b) By examining city or county records of property owners
   - (c) By calling at the dwellings personally or phoning people he knows in each neighborhood and inquiring

   What are the advantages and disadvantages of each approach?

   What other methods could you use in your community?

   What methods would work in locating people who rent their dwellings?

   What methods would work in finding apartment dwellers?

6. Jim didn't know how to locate potential voters who had just reached voting age.
   (a) How might he have done this?
   (b) How could it be done in your community?

CASE PROBLEM 4

From Registration to Election

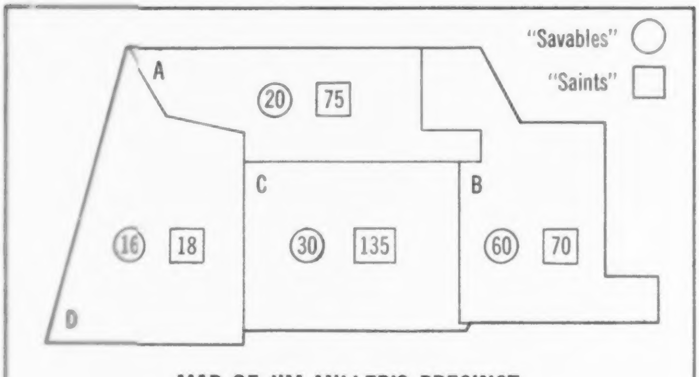
Following registration, Jim finds that only 60 new voters in his precinct have been registered: 18 (30%) are of his party; 21 (35%) are opposition voters; 21 (35%) are unknown. Jim decides that this record is not very good and resolves to do better in the three weeks left until the election.

Jim summarizes the registration results in a table.

	Ours	*Opposition*	*Unknown*	*Total*
Originally registered	280	315	105	700
Newly registered	18	21	21	60
Total	298	336	126	760
% of new total	39%	44%	17%	100%

Jim has entered the newly registered names in his notebook so that he now has in it a complete list of registered voters with their names, addresses, and affiliation or lack of it. He concludes that with three weeks to go, he could waste time trying to find out more about the 21 new unknowns to the detriment of other work. Therefore, he decides to classify these people as "savables" and treat them accordingly. The previously registered 105 unknowns he also decides to treat as "savables" for the same reason. He enters this information on a rough map of his precinct.

One more fact. Prior to registration, Jim had obtained the help of four volunteer workers: one in *A*, one in *B*, and two in *C*. All four agreed to work on through election day.



MAP OF JIM MILLER'S PRECINCT

The city leader informs Jim that he can have one of the candidates for office in his district to do face-to-face campaigning on two days in the remaining time before election day.

Jim now thinks his problem is twofold:

How to get all his 298 "saints" to the polls
How to work with as many as possible of the 126 "savables" to his best advantage

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Jim decided that his problem in the three weeks until election was twofold. Did he analyze the problem correctly this time? Explain.
2. To organize to get out the biggest possible vote for his ticket, in what ways will Jim's plans for areas *A* and *C* differ from his plans for *B* in respect to:
   - **(a)** need for additional workers?
   - **(b)** kinds of work to be done?
   - **(c)** finding ways to approach individual voters?
   - **(d)** whether calls should be made personally or by telephone?
   - **(e)** other things you can think of?
3. It is reasonable to assume that candidates campaigning in a precinct can do harm as well as good. What general principles or pointers might guide Jim in:

- **(a)** picking a candidate to make appearances in his precinct?
- **(b)** bringing him into contact with voters?
- **(c)** selecting areas of his precinct where he would be most helpful?

4. There are several campaign issues Jim's party has developed.
   - **(a)** In terms of "saints, savables, and sinners," who would be likely to be swayed by issues? Why?
   - **(b)** Which of the following methods of presenting issues would be most effective: meetings, personal contact, direct mail, handbills or posters? Explain.
   - **(c)** What other methods are available to Jim? How effective would they be?
5. Assuming that Jim will make some last-minute mailings:
   - **(a)** How might his approach in a mailing to "saints" differ from his approach in a mailing to "savables"?
   - **(b)** Might he profit by a mailing to "sinners"? What kind of approach could he use?
6. Experienced politicians say that *personal contacts* between workers and voters is the best way to get out the vote at election time; that building *personal relationships* beween workers and voters is the best way to build up the organization and the precinct.
   - **(a)** What is the difference in the two thoughts?
   - **(b)** Which thought applies more to Jim in his present situation?
7. In the two years before the next election, what approaches could Jim and his organization take to build personal relationships with:
   - **(a)** established residents?
   - **(b)** new people moving into the precinct?
8. In the last election, Jim's party got 34 more votes than the number of registered "saints," while the opposition received 21 more votes than the number of registered "sinners." Assume that 700 out of the 760 will actually vote.
   - **(a)** How many votes does Jim need to win the precinct?
   - **(b)** His predecessor lost the precinct by 22 votes in the last election. Would losing by 22 again be a good or a poor record?
   - **(c)** What chance does Jim have of carrying the precinct?
   - **(d)** If Jim had done a better job of finding "saints" and getting them registered, what chance would he have of carrying the precinct?
   - **(e)** If Jim does not carry the precinct, what difference does it make whether he loses by a small margin or a large one?
9. How would a very popular candidate running for high office on the other ticket alter your interpretation of Jim's table of registration results?

3

The Political Campaign

> *. . . the seeds of political success are sown far in advance of any election day. . . . It is the sum total of the little things that happen which leads to eventual victory at the polls.*
>
> J. HOWARD McGRATH [1]

Political organizations work day in, day out, all year round to achieve their primary goal — victory in the election. No matter how much emphasis party leaders place on the necessity for year-round programs, however, it is inevitable that political activity will reach its peak during the campaign period that culminates in election day.

More people than might be thought are directly involved in elections. It has been estimated that in a congressional election year, some 750,000 elective officials — ranging from U. S. Senator to municipal councilman — are chosen by the voters. Assuming that there are two candidates for each position, approximately 1,500,000 persons are seeking an elective office.

Candidates for major offices will have a large organization behind them. Even those seeking minor offices may have several workers helping their cause. Thus, millions of people are directly involved in political campaigns as candidates or workers.

---

[1] From flyleaf of *Inside the Democratic Party* by Jack Redding. Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1958. (J. Howard McGrath is the former Chairman of the Democratic National Committee.)

Those not so directly involved will also be alerted to the campaigns. They will attend meetings at which candidates speak; read reports of candidates' views in the newspapers and magazines; hear political slogans repeated endlessly on the radio; see candidates' pictures on billboards; and watch candidates on television.

Most Americans realize that this barrage of propaganda in behalf of particular candidates didn't just happen. But they will give little thought to the *organization* that is behind it.

This chapter reviews the organization of a campaign. For, although the goal of the campaign — to win the election — is simple, the way to achieve that goal is complex.

The election is the pay-off for a candidate or party. When a person becomes active in politics, he finds sooner or later that he is working in a campaign. Political status and influence are determined largely by one criterion: *Can he get votes for the ticket?* As a result, an individual's standing within the party will depend in large measure on how much he can contribute to the success of a campaign.

The Purpose of a Campaign

Every political campaign is different in some ways from the one that preceded it. Candidates change; public opinion and issues shift. A campaign in one locality is different, too, from a campaign in another locality.

In some areas, nomination by one party is the same thing as election. In those areas, the bitterest, hardest-fought battles may take place within one party prior to the primary election. In other areas, the candidate can devote virtually all his time and attention to the general election, because endorsement by a well-organized party has assured him that he will have little or no opposition in the primary.

In a farming area, the campaign will focus attention on issues that are different from those emphasized in an industrial city. The size and structure of the campaign organization will vary from party to party and from place to place.

These obvious differences, however, do not obscure the fact that every campaign has the same purpose — to win an election. And it must always be remembered that the only way to win an election is to get more votes at the polls than the opposition. The organization of a political campaign is geared to the major task of getting votes.

A worker in a campaign is convinced of the righteousness of his cause. He is convinced that his side represents "Truth, Sense, and Good Government" and that the only way to achieve these goals is through the election of his ticket.

Rallying "Saints, Sinners, and Savables"

As the preceding chapter explained, a campaign worker can easily divide the voters into three major groups — the "saints," the "sinners," and the "savables."

Because the "saints" are already inclined to support the party's candidates, it might appear at first glance that most attention during the campaign should be focused on converting the "savables" and the "sinners." Practical politicians have learned in the hard school of experience, however, that most attention should be given to the "saints." While it is true that these people favor the party's candidates, many of them will not bother to vote unless they are stimulated to action by a vigorous campaign. Most important, they must be convinced they have a winner.

Simple mathematics will help to illustrate the importance of the "saints." In the 1952 and 1956 presidential elections, approximately 60 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls. In the off-year or nonpresidential elections for Congressmen of 1954, only 44.2 percent of the eligible voters cast their ballots.

Translate these figures into work at the county level. Suppose there are 5000 eligible voters and 44 percent of them go to the polls. That means 2200 ballots will be cast. For a majority, a candidate needs only 1101 votes — slightly more than 22 percent of the total electorate.

There are few areas in the nation where the candidate of either major party does not have the potential support of one quarter of the electorate. Either candidate, therefore, has a good chance of being elected *if his campaign creates enough* *enthusiasm among his supporters to get every one of them to the polls.*

A major purpose of the campaign, accordingly, is to instill so much enthusiasm into some of the supporters that they will ring the doorbells of the others, baby-sit, and carry on all the other activities that will ensure that every "saint" does vote.

In practice, of course, no campaign succeeds in getting every supporter of a candidate to the polls. Some of the lukewarm "saints" will fail to vote. The second largest amount of time and emphasis in the campaign, therefore, is directed to the "savables."

Fortunately, much of the effort directed toward making the hard-core organization enthusiastic and convincing its members that they can win the election also helps to convert the "savables." Some independents will "jump on the bandwagon" if they are convinced it is really rolling; others can be persuaded to support the candidate through such means as publicity, advertising, speeches — or even a simple handshake.

In addition, special appeals are frequently used to reach those "savables" who are members of certain groups, such as lawyers, doctors, farmers, laborers, and veterans.

The same type of appeal is carried a step further in the "Citizens for Whoosit" clubs that are even more highly developed campaign organizations outside the party fold. (These organizations are discussed more fully in the next chapter.)

Least attention in a campaign is devoted to the "sinners." Converting them is so difficult that it is generally an uneconomical use of time. The best that can be hoped for is that they will become so discouraged that they will not vote or will slacken their efforts to get others to vote. Most politicians try to discourage the opposition workers by issuing glowing victory predictions during the campaign and by similar techniques.

Organization Is the Key

It is not by accident that the dominant political faction in many districts is called "the organization." Successful political campaigns are always organized campaigns. Every campaign manual stresses the importance of organization. Here is a typical example from a Republican Campaign Manual:

> Organization is the first requirement for victory, for without effective political organization it is difficult to sell the Party. The art of successful campaign management demands a thorough understanding of the principles of political organization.[1]

A Typical Campaign Organization

The organization of a national campaign will be different from that of a campaign for a local school board. In some campaigns, the county chairman and county political organization may run the whole show with an iron hand. In other cases, an individual candidate may set up elaborate machinery because the local party machinery is virtually nonexistent. Or perhaps the candidate may set up a small organization and rely on the county organization for supplemental help.

Candidates who are thoroughly versed in the art of politics may make all major decisions on strategy; inexperienced candidates may turn all these decisions over to a politically experienced manager.

Despite all these differences, it is still possible to draw up a composite organizational chart that is valuable for purposes of illustration. Basic problems are the same in every campaign; the same principles apply. In the final analysis, certain jobs must be done if the campaign is to be waged as effectively as possible. A good campaign organization is one set up to do these jobs.

Because they know specific tasks must be accomplished in every campaign, party leaders and candidates can start shaping up their organizations long before the election by selecting the men and women who will fill the key positions.

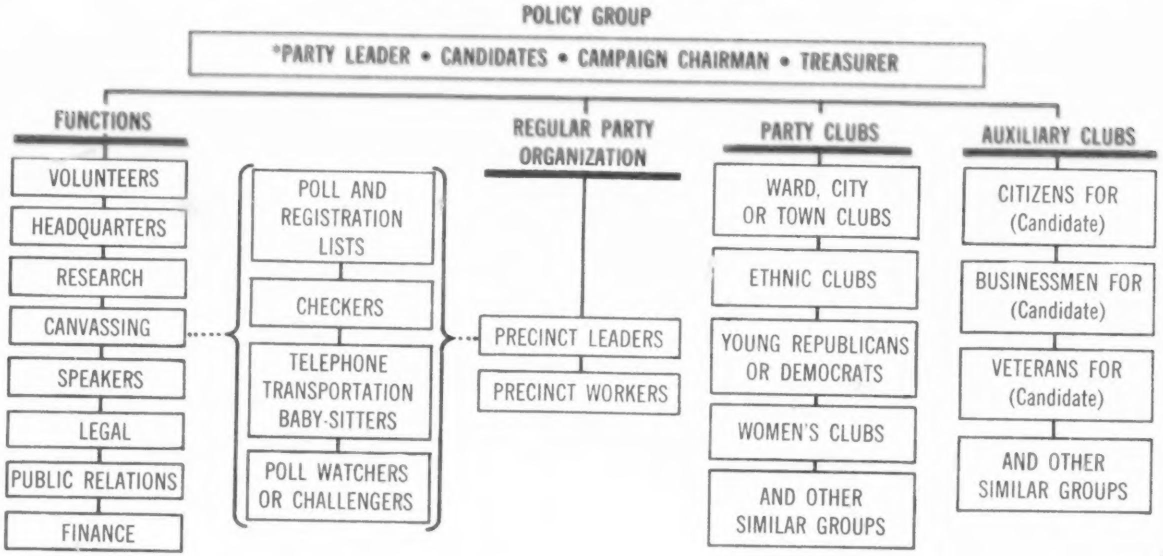
The Campaign Manager

Almost every practical politician agrees that a candidate should not plan and conduct his own campaign. The physical strain of an active speaking tour may prevent him from devoting adequate time to planning strategy. A candidate may not be familiar with the actual mechanics of a campaign.

---

[1] *Workers Manual, op. cit.*

BASIC CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION CHART


POLICY GROUP
*PARTY LEADER • CANDIDATES • CAMPAIGN CHAIRMAN • TREASURER
FUNCTIONS
VOLUNTEERS
HEADQUARTERS
RESEARCH
CANVASSING
SPEAKERS
LEGAL
PUBLIC RELATIONS
FINANCE
POLL AND REGISTRATION LISTS
CHECKERS
TELEPHONE TRANSPORTATION BABY-SITTERS
POLL WATCHERS OR CHALLENGERS
REGULAR PARTY ORGANIZATION
PRECINCT LEADERS
PRECINCT WORKERS
PARTY CLUBS
WARD, CITY OR TOWN CLUBS
ETHNIC CLUBS
YOUNG REPUBLICANS OR DEMOCRATS
WOMEN'S CLUBS
AND OTHER SIMILAR GROUPS
AUXILIARY CLUBS
CITIZENS FOR (Candidate)
BUSINESSMEN FOR (Candidate)
VETERANS FOR (Candidate)
AND OTHER SIMILAR GROUPS

*The precise organization of the top echelon in a campaign will vary with the campaign and the personalities involved. In some cases, the party leader will dominate the group, in other cases, an experienced candidate may make all final decisions. A campaign manager may merely carry out orders—or he may mastermind the entire campaign.

Most politicians agree, too, that the candidate should be "insulated" as much as possible from the bad news and criticism that may crop up in any campaign. Anything that lessens his confidence and decreases his enthusiasm hurts his effectiveness. For these and other reasons, a campaign manager is generally appointed.

The one most important qualification of a campaign manager is that he be a "professional." This does not mean professional in the sense of being paid, but rather means experienced, skilled, and resourceful.

In addition, the campaign manager must have a quality that might be called "equilibrium." His temperament should be such that he can "roll with the punches" and be able to deal with emergencies quickly and decisively. Certainly he should not be the type of man who is likely to "panic" when faced with harassments or problems.

The campaign manager must have the ability to work in the background. Anonymity is his byword. In fact, one of his jobs will be to see that other workers and the candidate get the publicity. His name may never be known to the general public.

A brief outline of a campaign manager's responsibilities is presented this way in a Republican Campaign Manual:

> The candidate is the campaign's front man; and the campaign manager is in effect its business manager. He has the overall responsibility of administering its ideas and affairs, and of taking the mechanics of the campaign organization and operation off the hands of the candidate. This leaves the candidate free for speeches and top-level thinking on policy and strategy problems. The two must maintain the closest relationship and keep their thinking allied together at all times.
>
> In case there should be any disagreement which cannot be worked out through consultation, final decision should be made by the candidate.
>
> The manager's role is not to do the work himself, but to get other people to do it, to make sure that they do it, and to make sure that they do it efficiently.[1]

Another most important qualification of a campaign manager is that he be a good administrator. A campaign consists of the weaving together of a multitude of different threads: literature, publicity, speeches, advertising programs, voters' canvassing, and so on. The skillful campaign manager must not only know what those details are but he must know how to select the men and women who will head these various projects and programs — and get them accomplished.

---

[1] *Workers Manual, op. cit.*

He must know how to weed out those who offer to help, but are merely seeking personal publicity, and the emotionally unstable. He must concentrate instead on finding competent people who will perform their assignments efficiently. Sometimes he may have to persuade people outside the regular organization to perform a special job he knows they are well equipped to handle.

In short, the campaign manager should have the knowledge and skill of the "professional" politician; the administrative ability to delegate authority and at the same time to maintain control; and the leadership to inspire a group of volunteers to work hard without friction.

Women in the Campaign

Women always play a key role in political campaigns. In fact, they probably compose well over half the people active in American politics today. Some serve in top positions; others address envelopes, answer telephones, distribute literature, and perform the many routine jobs a campaign requires.

Women are almost always included in the top policy-making group. They advise on how candidates can best appeal to women voters and what issues most women are interested in. Often they are more subtle than men in planning strategy; and more than once a campaign organization has been held together by a woman using her feminine charm and tact to resolve severe personality conflicts. Smart politicians *never* underestimate the power of a woman.

Nor do smart politicians appoint a woman to a top policy position merely because she is a woman. It is better to have none at all than one who is not qualified by experience and ability.

Campaign Activities

Practical politicians have identified specific functions for which definite responsibility must be assigned in every political campaign. A headquarters must be set up and operated; research must be done; speakers must be provided for various types of meetings; voters must be canvassed and got to the polls; legal work must be handled; the many aspects of public relations must be performed; and funds must be raised for the expenses of the campaign.

The responsibility for performing each of these functions is assigned to a committee. Many of these actually will be one-man committees, since more than one person is not necessary to do the job or more than one may not be available. Nevertheless, the word *committee* is used to describe the person or group which is assigned each function, simply because it is the best word available and the one most commonly used.

Committee Functions

Headquarters

Every political campaign should have a headquarters. In small towns, this headquarters is located, if possible, in a vacant store on the main street. This is not only a convenient location but one that permits continuous advertising through a banner placed across the front or possibly even across the street. In larger cities, the campaign headquarters frequently is set up in a suite of offices — that can be expanded as necessary — in a downtown hotel.

The job of running the headquarters generally falls to the *headquarters secretary*, who frequently is a full-time paid employee. Usually a woman fills this job. She sees to it that office supplies are adequate, that appropriate officials have keys to the headquarters, and that a schedule of meetings being held in the headquarters is kept.

She also handles much of the dictation and typing for the campaign chairman and may keep the treasurer's books and do the routine purchasing. Many campaign headquarters make it a practice to keep hot coffee and cold soft drinks available for the workers and various people who drop in, which is another task for the secretary.

Volunteers Chairman

Sometimes the headquarters secretary doubles as chairman of volunteers. More often, another woman who can work almost full time is appointed to head up the volunteers operation.

The volunteers chairman needs several qualities. She must have great tact and diplomacy, so that each volunteer feels his or her services are valued. She must be a good judge of people, so that she can fit each person into the proper job. She should be a leader capable of motivating her volunteers to work above and beyond the call of duty. She must be resourceful and not given to panic, because half the requests for volunteer help she receives will be on a crash basis: "We have to have ten workers right now, or all is lost!"

Since political organizations rely almost entirely on volunteer help to perform all the different jobs necessary to a political campaign, the responsibilities of the volunteers chairman are very heavy. They generally cover four areas: recruiting; assigning jobs; training; helping with non-headquarters staffing.

Recruiting. The first responsibility is recruiting a large enough pool of volunteer workers with the qualifications necessary to do the different types of jobs required. Many volunteers will just turn up at headquarters and offer their services. Political clubs will generally submit a list of their members who can be called on for help. The volunteers chairman has to use her own initiative in finding additional workers she may need.

Assigning jobs. Her next job is determining what each volunteer wants to do — and can do. Generally she uses a 3" x 5" card for each volunteer, who fills it out with the necessary data. The chairman then uses her card to make out a schedule of assignments for receptionists, typists, and other regularly scheduled personnel. She also makes up a list of people for emergency calls.

Almost all volunteers can be put to work on some task. It is up to the chairman not only to have volunteers available when needed but also to see to it that everybody who wants to help has an opportunity to do so. Nothing is more discouraging than for a person to volunteer his or her services and never be called on to help. When this happens, people are generally vocal in spreading the news that the party is not well enough organized to use them.

Training. The volunteers chairman also has the responsibility of training headquarters personnel in how to take care of visitors, telephone-answering technique the filing system, and the other basic skills they need to work in the headquarters.

Non-headquarters staffing. The chairman should also be on the lookout for potential precinct workers and other non-headquarters types of volunteers. After referring these people to precinct leaders or other chairmen, she should follow up to make sure the volunteer actually gets in touch with the precinct leader or committee chairman.

Research Committee

In practice, the scope of the work done by the research committee generally reflects the size of the campaign. The national committees of both parties are constantly analyzing issues and the party's prospects in various sections of the country. Most state party central committees, too, have sections for research. At the county and municipal level, the research committee may be one of the less active groups — although a well-organized research committee can perform a tremendously vital service in any campaign.

One of the local research committee's major jobs is to prepare material that the campaign speakers can use effectively. The speeches and the voting record of the opposition candidate can be combed for material that will be helpful in the campaign. Background material on issues and opponents can be compiled by the research committee and made available to the candidate and to other speakers.

In addition, invaluable help can be provided to the campaign manager and his candidate in the development of their campaign strategy. Research can find the answers to questions such as these:

What is the total number of voters in the district?
How is the population distributed by ward and precinct?
What was the vote by ward and precinct in the last election?
Are there concentrations of ethnic (racial and religious) groups in certain precincts?
Where will concentrated work get us the most votes?

The answers to such questions — which should be available prior to the planning of the campaign — are of inestimable value. In some cases, of course, the professional old-timers will know most of the answers through long study of the politics of their area — but established views can always be re-examined.

Since the primary purpose of the campaign is to ensure that voters *on your side* get to the polls, it is essential that the campaign manager know *which areas and which groups are worth all-out effort and which are not.*

If there is a large ethnic group in the district, special attention may be given to it. Efforts can be made to enlist the support of some minority groups by appeals to their leadership, since politics revolves around people who influence others.

In recent years, increasing interest has been evidenced by political parties in various types of public-opinion surveys. For example, when Jacob K. Javits ran for the United States House of Representatives for the first time in 1946, he contracted with the Roper organization for a poll of his New York City district. The study revealed, among other things, that only eight percent of the sample knew the name of their Congressman. Javits campaigned on a "know your district, know your Congressman" theme — and won the election. Prior to the next election two years later, another survey revealed that 50 percent of the sample knew their Congressman's name. He was re-elected.

In most areas, the research committee can conduct its own public-opinion polls, in addition to collecting information on all types of voters' statistics. A word of caution: designing questions, selection of samples, interview techniques, and interpretation of findings require experience. Professional help in conducting polls is advisable.

Speakers Committee

Today political programs must compete with all kinds of entertainment for public attention. Under the impact of radio, television, and movies, political oratory has changed. Political speeches are not as long as they once were. In most cases, they do not include as much flowery language and sentimental appeals. But speechmaking is still very much a part of the political scene.

During a campaign, requests that the candidate speak before this group or that club will flow into campaign headquarters. Obviously, the candidate cannot accept all invitations to speak. The campaign manager and the candidate, therefore, select those requests for speeches which could pay off in the most votes.

In selecting the speaking engagements that the candidate will accept, the candidate and his manager will keep in mind the major goal of the campaign mentioned earlier; that is, to get those people who support him to the polls. This means, for practical purposes, that a Republican candidate would spend little time in a precinct that had a long history of large Democratic majorities. He would recognize that the few votes he might change in that precinct would not justify the use of much of his limited time. He could devote his energy more constructively to making sure that the voters who were at least sympathetic to his cause were inspired to increase their efforts to elect him and to support him at the polls.

Some of the candidate's appearances are almost mandatory, of course. He will probably show up at any gathering which includes a large number of the party faithful. He will always try to appear before veterans' groups, labor meetings, religious organizations, chambers of commerce, and other important, well-organized clubs or associations. In many communities, nonpartisan organizations, such as the League of Women Voters, will hold a rally to which all candidates are invited. A candidate generally will make a point of attending such meetings, since his absence probably would be misinterpreted.

On the other hand, if one candidate is widely known, he may feel it unwise to give a lesser-known opponent the publicity that comes with appearing on the same platform with him. Or if he is a poor debater and his opponent a good one, he might profitably avoid any programs that are essentially debates.

A well-organized speakers committee will have available a "stable" of able speakers to fill requests for a speaker at the meetings which the candidate cannot — or does not want to — attend.

The committee will also *stimulate* requests for speakers and take the initiative in finding spots for speakers at local luncheons, dinners, and meetings sponsored by influential clubs and organizations. Many program chairmen will welcome a speaker on a political subject during a campaign period.

Like all other groups participating in the campaign, the speakers committee will be successful in direct proportion to the knowledge and skill possessed by the leadership and its ability to work harmoniously with others. Naturally, its efforts require co-ordination with other committees that are working on the campaign.

The speakers committee works, for example, with the research committee in developing material that will be most useful and effective in campaign speeches; and it works with the public relations committee in ensuring that the speakers and their speeches receive wide publicity, and in handling the distribution of effective pamphlets or other material at meetings.

The speakers committee must have a clear understanding of the political situation in the area. Its chairman should know the type of appeal most likely to influence a Legion meeting and what type will appeal to the annual dinner of a county medical society. Knowing what subjects to avoid is just as important.

Solving the many and varied problems of a campaign requires the ability of a successful diplomat. In almost every campaign, there will be volunteer speakers who will do more harm than good if they are allowed to speak as "official" party representatives. Easing these people into other jobs without hurt feelings may not be easy, but it is essential. The success or failure of most meetings is determined by the speaker. Inept and inadequate speakers are worse than no speaker at all, because they alienate some votes and fail to attract others.

Because of the importance of speakers, many speakers committees operate a training school at the beginning of the campaign to develop the skills of new speakers and to appraise those who wish to participate in this phase of the campaign.

The Small, Informal Gathering

The subject of speakers and meetings brings up a recent development that is revolutionizing campaigning in some areas — the small, informal gathering. It has been said, for example, that during his congressional campaign, President Kennedy "literally drank his way in tea into the Senate," as he met thousands of voters at a series of informal tea parties conducted by his mother and sisters throughout Massachusetts.

The idea is a simple one to adapt. A housewife in the neighborhood invites as many friends as possible to come in for a cup of tea or coffee and to meet the candidate. There is no formal program, but those in attendance are given an opportunity to shake the hand of the candidate and to chat briefly with him.

The success of such meetings in swaying voters is not surprising. The candidate immediately becomes a "friend" of the voter. Human nature being what it is, there are few people who will not find an opportunity later to mention to others that "Mr. Candidate told me the other day —— " or to say casually, "When I was talking to Mr. Candidate the other day at the Browns' house ——."

If the candidate has a pleasing personality — as most of them do, or they wouldn't be candidates — each person in attendance immediately becomes a center of influence, spreading the "good word" throughout his circle of acquaintances.

"Operation Coffee-Cup," sponsored by the National Federation of Republican Women in the 1954 campaign, used the same basic appeals, but had several unique features. The program was tied in with Republican National Precinct Day, and social gatherings called "Pow-Wows" were held throughout the nation on the same day. The goal was to have one such gathering — a breakfast, a picnic lunch, a barbecue, or just coffee and doughnuts — held in each precinct, and to have each "Pow-Wow" visited by a team of party leaders, public officials, and candidates.

The recent development of the informal social hour as a campaign technique is, of course, just an extension of the practice that has long been followed by candidates of appearing briefly at all types of functions: state and county fairs, picnics, and even funerals and weddings. Candidates in rural areas have long recognized the importance of attending meetings of farmers' organizations and livestock sales.

James A. Farley summed it up when he said:

> . . . There is no substitute for the personal touch and there never will be, unless the Lord starts to make human beings different from the way he makes them now.[1]

Stimson Bullitt tells of his "coffee hour" experiences while running for Congress in 1954:

> Most of the time it is delightful to sit in a big chair and stuff yourself with cookies while polite guests treat you as a universal expert. In the homes of supporters who had invited their friends and neighbors I submitted to questions but gave no set speech. Because no more effective engine has ever been invented to probe the nature of a candidate than free interrogation at close quarters, these meetings are an advantage to guests as citizens. And they tend to be uneasy though stimulating periods for the candidate; in the course of an hour some cherished prejudices are likely to collide. The voter may go away shaking his head at the thought of this menace to the Republic whom he has just met, while he still tolerates the others in the race. One does not use these meetings solely as an exercise in civics. In turnover they do not approach waiting in front of a mill through the half hour before the eight o'clock whistle. But each contact is more intensive where candidate and voter meet in a home, introduced by a mutual acquaintance, and where, instead of one greeting the other, who passes on, they actually converse.[2]

Practical politicians have learned that it is useful to have a "buffer team" to accompany the candidate at these small, informal gatherings as well as at larger meetings. The "buffer team" sees that those in attendance have a chance to meet the candidate, prevents one or two people from monopolizing his time, answers phone calls, and gets the candidate out of the meeting in time to make his next appointment.

---

[1] James A. Farley, *Behind the Ballots: The Personal History of a Politician*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938, pp. 192-193.

[2] From TO BE A POLITICIAN by Stimson Bullitt. Copyright © 1959 by Stimson Bullitt. Reprinted by permission of Doubleday and Company, Inc., pp. 110-111.

Public Relations Committee

In an ideal campaign, a candidate would shake the hand of every potential voter. Obviously that is impossible. And the more heavily populated the area, the less practical it becomes. As a result, a political campaign must rely on other, indirect ways of reaching the voters.

Campaign literature — pamphlets, throwaways, posters — will help to reach many voters. Paid advertisements can be placed in newspapers and presented on television and radio. In addition, all of the mass media of communication are ready to present information about the candidate whenever they consider the information newsworthy.

In some cases, a subcommittee handles the paid advertising of all kinds, including outdoor billboards. Another subcommittee handles the preparation and distribution of special literature, such as posters and leaflets. Sometimes the publicity and advertising functions of a campaign are assigned on contract to professional publicity, advertising, or public relation firms.

Whatever system is used, however, the public relations director must co-ordinate publicity. He should be consulted and his ideas should be utilized by everyone involved in the campaign.

A good public relations director will, of course, know the mechanics of writing press releases. He will know how to start the copy several inches down on the first page, to have it double — or triple — spaced, to make sure that names are spelled correctly and that facts are accurate. He will know that his statement for the press should answer "Who, What, Where, When, and Why." But it is even more important that he be thoroughly familiar with all the publicity outlets — the small weekly newspapers as well as the large dailies and the radio and television news commentators. He should know deadline requirements, be friendly with editors and commentators, and know the type of material that appeals to each of them.

In handling publicity, a good public relations director is much more than an expert on mechanical details. He must have a news "sense" and recognize when to act and how. A good example of effective publicity action appears in *Inside the Democratic Party*, by Jack Redding, the publicity director of the 1948 Truman campaign. Mr. Redding tells of "the good break" they got when Stalin announced that he would prefer Dewey to Truman as President of the United States. The Russian dictator, of course, had not impugned Dewey's patriotism; he had merely indicated that he felt he could get along better with the New York Governor than with Truman.

An inept publicity man might have ignored the incident or have used it to attack Dewey directly, which doubtless would have backfired. The Democrats nominally attacked Stalin — and made sure everybody heard of the incident — by issuing "a statement to the effect that Stalin should stop trying to influence the American election by selecting Dewey as the man he'd prefer as an adversary to Communism in its westward march." [1]

However, a public relations director is limited somewhat in creating "news." In the final analysis, his job is to publicize the news that is made by the candidates and by party activities.

Advertising. For the public relations director, communications media have two uses: to carry free publicity and to carry paid advertising.

A newspaper, for example, may carry in its news column pictures of a candidate, stories about political meetings, and other items that the editors consider of public interest. A radio or TV station will also report news and present panel discussions or similar programs as a public service.

At the same time, of course, newspapers, TV, and radio stations are in the business of selling advertising space or time. Although the alert public relations director attempts to obtain all the free publicity he can, he also will plan to spend some money for paid political advertising.

When it appears as paid advertising, a message can be presented in the form in which the public relations director wants it to appear, rather than as an editor or reporter — possibly unfriendly — would like to have it appear. Additionally, many publications expect to receive political advertising during a campaign.

---

[1] Redding, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

Very often advertising is left until the last minute. However, contracting for space early and delivering copy well in advance of deadlines eases the job of the newspaper in preparing layout and often results in better positions for the advertisements, as well as better co-operation from all concerned in making the advertisements more effective.

Many questions arise in the advertising campaign, among them:

How much money should be spent on newspaper advertising? on radio? on television? on billboards? on leaflets and brochures?

Should advertisements be full-page or smaller?

Should a television program be used for a 15-minute speech or a spot announcement?

These and similar questions for specific campaigns and specific conditions in any area can best be answered with the help of skilled advertising men, many of whom participate in campaigns, either as paid consultants or as volunteers. It is useful to remember, too, that use of an advertising agency in the preparation and placement of advertising generally costs the advertiser nothing. It is standard practice for the agency to collect its fee in the form of a discount from the newspapers or the radio and television stations where the advertising is placed. The advertisement itself is paid for by the political organization.

Professional help should be used as much as possible in all phases of the publicity and advertising program, but here are some general observations about the use of television and radio offered by practical politicians.

Television. As noted earlier, from a candidate's standpoint there are two major types of television programs: those that are free and those he pays for. The free type might be sponsored as a public service by the station or sponsored by an advertiser. A forum in which candidates are interviewed by a panel of newsmen or others is a good example of this type of program. Decisions as to the candidate's appearance on programs of this nature will be determined largely by the nature of the program, the candidate's schedule, the character of the sponsoring organization, and the ability of the candidate to appear favorably in the format of the program.

More serious questions arise over the decisions as to whether television time should be purchased to present candidates. There is no question that television has introduced an important new element into political campaigns. Candidates can be seen by many more people than formerly. Those who have a good television personality can make it pay great dividends. Despite the high cost of programming, television enables the user to reach large audiences at small per capita cost.

At the same time, many practical politicians feel that television must be used with great care. A costly 15-minute talk can be switched off by thousands of people with a mere turn of the knob. Competition for the audience is keen. Moreover, other facts must be considered. If, for example, a viewer in his home turns on the television set to see a favorite program and finds it has been replaced by a paid television speech, he may be resentful rather than interested.

Television will play a large — and probably increasing — role in national elections. Theodore H. White considers that the TV debates during the 1960 presidential campaign marked a distinct change in presidential politics. He says:

> At 8:30 p.m., Chicago time, on the evening of September 26th, 1960, the voice and shadow of the previous show faded from the screen; . . . and the screen dissolved to three men who were about to confirm a revolution in American presidential politics.
>
> This revolution had been made by no one of the three men on the screen — John F. Kennedy, Richard M. Nixon, or Howard K. Smith, the moderator. It was a revolution born of the ceaseless American genius in technology; its sole agent and organizer had been the common American television set. Tonight it was to permit the simultaneous gathering of all the tribes of America to ponder their choice between two chieftains in the largest political convocation in the history of man. . . .
>
> In the event, when all was over, the audience exceeded the wildest fancies and claims of the television networks. Each individual broadcast averaged an audience set at a low 65,000,000 and a high of 70,000,000. The greatest previous audience in television history had been for the climactic game of the 1959

> World Series, when an estimated 90,000,000 Americans had tuned in to watch the White Sox play the Dodgers. When, finally, figures were assembled for all four debates, the total audience for the television debates on the Presidency exceeded even this figure.[1]

In spite of this striking example of the use of television in a nationwide campaign, some experts believe that the cost of presenting a 15-minute or half-hour program may not be justified in smaller campaigns. Its value is particularly questionable if the program consists merely of a 15-minute or half-hour speech by the candidate. If a 15-minute or half-hour program is to be used, every attempt should be made to present a lively, interesting show — not just a speech.

One form of television advertising, the "spot announcement," is apparently gaining popularity among the politicians. This technique of presenting a short statement on an important issue by the candidate during the "break" between feature programs has many obvious advantages.

Radio. Many of the comments on the use of television apply to radio. From the political standpoint, the emergence of television has not killed radio. Smart politicians recognize that radio offers many advantages in terms of coverage and economy. Millions of people listen to car radios while driving to and from work; many housewives listen to the radio while doing their household chores. In radio, as in television, "spot announcements" are widely used.

Billboards. Billboard advertising provides another means of publicizing a candidate.

The use of billboards enables a picture of a candidate, his name, and the office for which he is running to be displayed prominently, thereby fostering in the public's mind an association between a face, a name, and a job. Many campaigns use billboard advertising effectively.

Literature. The preparation of effective literature and its efficient and economical distribution are big tasks in a political campaign. The best printed material is of little value unless it reaches the voters. A wide variety of approaches is used, therefore, to reach as many different people as possible.

---

[1] White, *op. cit.*, pp. 279 and 283.

Literature is sometimes mailed to every voter in the campaign area; sometimes one piece is mailed to the registered party voters and different material is mailed to the voters registered in the opposition party. Literature is passed out at political rallies and meetings, distributed on the streets and at factory gates, delivered by precinct workers.

Generally, printed material containing a marked sample ballot is passed out near the polls on election day. Sample ballots and reprinted newspaper editorials that favor a candidate are two of the most valuable pieces of literature that can be used.

Special mailing pieces, or letters, are often prepared for special nonparty groups, such as lawyers, doctors, veterans, farmers, and different ethnic groups. When possible, these special appeals are sent out over the signature of a respected leader of the group rather than from the party or campaign headquarters.

It usually is necessary to recruit many volunteer workers to address the material for mailing.

Notes on use of mass media. Frequently, those preparing material for dissemination through the mass media, such as publications, radio, TV, newspapers, aim it entirely at the hostile and undecided. Some authorities believe that material in mass media has little *direct* effect on the undecided voter. He is not very much interested; he is bombarded with opposing claims; and he may be faced with inner conflicts.

The decision of this type of voter, these authorities say, will probably be determined largely on the basis of personal, face-to-face contact. Therefore, material carried in mass media will be more effective if it is designed to impress the party faithful in favor of their own candidate and against the opposition, and if it can be used by these faithful in talking to their friends and neighbors.

According to this view, the primary value of mass media is as a means of "passing the ammunition" to the front-line troops.

Legal Committee

In small campaigns, the legal committee may merely be one individual. But every campaign requires legal services. These services are generally provided by volunteer lawyers who are experts on campaign and election law.

These experts can perform a dual function. They can ensure that the party's candidates comply with all the legal requirements for filing nominating petitions. Present legal restrictions on campaign expenditures and the necessity for filing reports on them make the services of an expert in these fields particularly helpful. At the same time that they are protecting the interests of their own candidates, the campaign's lawyers can be on the alert to ensure that the opposition is complying with the law and to advise on how any legal mistake by opposing candidates may be exploited. For example, in the 1958 campaign, a candidate for a state legislature was embarrassed when the opposition revealed that he had not met the residential requirement for the office he was seeking.

The legal committee can perform a most useful service by preparing a manual or conducting a school for precinct workers who will be charged with the responsibility for challenging voters or of watching the vote count on election day. (See "Election Day," pages 42-47.)

Canvassing Committee

The primary objective of the canvassing committee is simple — to get all potential voters *on its side* registered, and then to get them to the polls on election day.

A canvassing committee at campaign headquarters is necessary to co-ordinate and supervise the entire operation. It can check the organization of each precinct, hold schools for those who are doing the actual front-line work, and organize task forces to conduct canvassing operations in precincts in which the party is not well organized.

A canvassing committee can furnish maps of each precinct to precinct captains. With the help of the research committee, it can identify the areas that deserve large, intensive drives and areas where less attention is needed.

Occasionally, a smart canvassing committee chairman will get a large group of volunteers and prepare 3" x 5" cards listing names, addresses, and telephone numbers of the party's registered voters in each precinct. These cards are then turned over to the appropriate precinct leaders, saving them days of preparation — and making sure this job is done in precincts with poor leadership.

On election day, the canvassing committee can assume responsibility for a variety of chores, including:

1. Ensuring that the necessary workers are assigned to each of the polling places and checking to see that they actually are on the job. If for some reason they fail to appear, the canvassing committee should have adequately prepared replacements.
2. Checking the polling places early to see how the votes are coming in — say, between 10:00 A.M. and noon. If voters for the party seem to be slow in appearing at the polls, the precincts should be notified to redouble their efforts. In many areas, it is a definite campaign tactic to slow down voting late in the day in the hope that voters of the other party who expect to vote on their way home will decide not to when they see a waiting line at the polls.
3. Providing proper credentials for party poll watchers.

Special Services Committee

During a political campaign, a candidate and his party may receive many requests for special services, as well as much free advice on how to run the campaign, tips on what the opposition is doing, and so on.

Political organizations are built to some extent by special favors they are able to perform for the voters. Bronx leader Ed Flynn said:

> The workers within the Election Districts bring to the Captains all sorts of entreaties — a boy may be in trouble, someone may be out of work, someone may have run afoul of the law in a minor way, someone may want civil service promotion. (And, remember, that to ninety-nine out of a hundred voters these personal matters are more important than what is happening in Paris, or the tariff, or even new sewers. Whether they should or shouldn't be is beside the point. They just are.)[1]

---

[1] Flynn, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

The precinct leader (Captain) will handle most such cases, of course, but there always are some occasions on which a trouble shooter for the party can win votes by working on requests that cannot be handled by the precinct leader.

The special services unit can also perform a useful service in screening all the advice that pours into headquarters. Obvious crackpots can be tactfully thanked and got rid of without burdening the leaders with the job. Worth-while suggestions can be passed on to the appropriate committees or leaders.

Some politicians recommend that the chairman of the special services committee be given an important title, such as "General Manager," in order to deal more satisfactorily with the people who come to headquarters with fire in their eyes demanding to see "the man in charge."

Financing the Campaign

Two major problems are connected with financing a political campaign — raising the money and controlling its expenditure. The money-raising function is the responsibility of the finance committee; expenditures are controlled by the treasurer in consultation with the campaign manager.

Finance Committee

The money-raising committee of a campaign is frequently set up in an organizational unit that is independent of the candidate. Politicians say that several advantages accrue to the candidate under procedures that prevent him from knowing any more than is absolutely necessary about the campaign's financial affairs.

For example, if questions should arise about the source of contributions or practices that have incurred resentment, he can disclaim all knowledge of the practices and assure the voters that he "wears no man's collar."

The enactment of legislation that requires financial reports for campaign receipts and expenditures undoubtedly has speeded the tendency to divorce the candidate from the finances.

Waging a campaign today costs large sums of money, and various methods have been developed to raise the necessary amounts. The most effective method is the personal solicitation of individuals. Letter campaigns, although not so satisfactory as other methods, are used.

In recent years, there has been a great increase in the number of $25- to $100-per-plate dinners which have as their primary purpose the raising of money for the party. This device, when properly handled, has proved to be very successful in raising funds.

In addition to the members of the general public who can be persuaded to contribute, political campaigns may also rely on other sources of income. For example, it is generally expected that non-civil-service jobholders will contribute to the party.

There are as many ways of raising campaign funds as there are imaginative finance chairmen.

Legal Considerations

Many state laws place limitations on the solicitation of political contributions. These laws differ in the various states.

In addition, Federal laws apply to political contributions for Federal officeholders or candidates seeking Federal office.

The following rules summarize briefly some legal aspects that all persons soliciting political contributions for candidates for Federal offices should know. Under Federal law:

Corporation checks are not acceptable. Corporations cannot make political contributions. There is no exception.

Unincorporated companies, partnerships, and individuals *can* contribute.

All contributions must be identified; no anonymous gifts can be accepted.

An individual's contribution of more than $3000 to any *one* campaign committee is subject to gift tax.

Contributions are *not* deductible for income-tax purposes.

The following restrictions on political fund raising are established by Federal statutes:

It is *not lawful* for one Federal official or employee to solicit or receive campaign funds from another Federal employee or official. Political solicitation by anyone in any Federal building is unlawful.

It is *lawful* for any official or employee to make a voluntary contribution to any political party that he may prefer. An employee cannot be forced to make a contribution and must not be discriminated against for not doing so.

Party finance is explained more fully in Chapter 5.

Budget

The over-all plan for expenditures during the campaign is developed by the policy groups and the treasurer. The treasurer may be the regular party treasurer, or he may be appointed just for the campaign.

The usual problem of preparing a realistic and workable budget is made more difficult in many campaigns because the treasurer must outline a spending program before he knows how much money will be available. As a result, it is common practice to draw up in advance of the campaign a budget that anticipates various levels of income.

From a practical standpoint, this means that a system of priorities will be worked out, with provision made first for essential expenses. For example, rent for the headquarters office would have to be paid anyway; but the decision as to whether one or two mailings of literature would be sent to voters would be determined by the success of the finance committee in raising funds.

Authority to make disbursements is generally limited to one man, the treasurer. He can be overruled only by the executive committee of the party, which usually includes the chairman and other party officers.

Sometimes members of the finance committee hold the view that the same committee should serve as a committee to supervise spending the money. Experience has shown that such a procedure invariably causes difficulties, since the people who know how to raise money seldom know very much about how to spend it in a political campaign.

The importance of good accounting procedures can hardly be overemphasized. When prospective donors know that campaign funds are audited by a certified public accountant, the problem of raising such funds is made easier. No one wants to give money to a campaign and feel that it may just go into someone's pocket.

One problem in raising campaign money is particularly important. Money generally comes in toward the end of the campaign. As a rule, donors do not get excited and loosen their purses until the campaign reaches its highest pitch. This is unfortunate, since the earlier the money comes in, the more efficiently it can be spent. It is generally necessary, therefore, to spend more than is available during the early stages — or often even the later ones — of the campaign.

This may seem like poor business methods, but it may be sound in politics. The winner of an election usually receives a number of checks from people who "just forgot" to send them in before election day. It is not good political sense to cut down on last-minute expenditures, since this may result in losing the election. The purpose of the campaign is to win, not to balance a set of books.

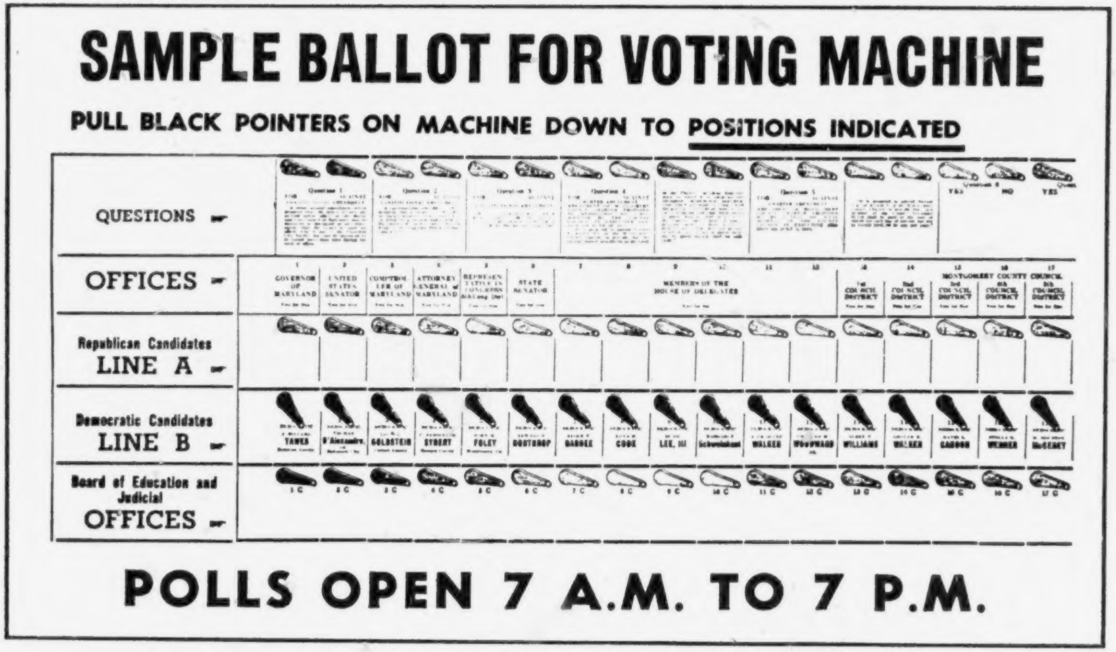
Preparing for Election Day

Elections are won or lost in the precincts. The careful selection of candidates, a well-organized campaign with publicity, television programs, radio shows, billboard advertising — all these have as their primary purpose getting voters to the polls to vote for the party's candidates.

But any campaign is incomplete unless there is a big push, organized right down to the precincts, to get the individual voters to the polls on election day.

Getting Out the Voters

This organized push revolves around three centers: the polling places, the precinct headquarters (usually the precinct leader's home), and the central campaign headquarters for the community.



SAMPLE BALLOT FOR VOTING MACHINE

PULL BLACK POINTERS ON MACHINE DOWN TO POSITIONS INDICATED

QUESTIONS

Question 1 FOR AGAINST

Question 2 FOR AGAINST

Question 3 FOR AGAINST

Question 4 FOR AGAINST

Question 5 FOR AGAINST

Question 6 YES NO

YES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
OFFICES	GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND	UNITED STATES SENATOR	COMPTROLLER OF MARYLAND	ATTORNEY GENERAL of MARYLAND	REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS 6th Cong Dist	STATE SENATOR	MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES						MONTGOMERY COUNTY COUNCIL 1st COUNCIL DISTRICT	2nd COUNCIL DISTRICT	3rd COUNCIL DISTRICT	4th COUNCIL DISTRICT	5th COUNCIL DISTRICT
Republican Candidates LINE A																	
Democratic Candidates LINE B	TAWES	D'Alesandro, III	GOLDSTEIN	SYBERT	FOLEY	BOOTHROP	GARGES	COOK	LEE, III	Schwenkhardt	WALKER	WOODWARD	WILLIAMS	WALKER	GARDNER	WERNER	McCENEY
Board of Education and Judicial OFFICES	1 C	2 C	3 C	4 C	5 C	6 C	7 C	8 C	9 C	10 C	11 C	12 C	13 C	14 C	15 C	16 C	17 C

POLLS OPEN 7 A.M. TO 7 P.M.

Sample ballot used by the Democratic Party in Maryland recommending straight-ticket voting. Levers in line B pulled down in voting position.

Ordinarily several temporary committees are organized to handle election-day affairs. They might be combined in one way or another, but the individual functions have to be performed by someone if the election-day push is to be carried on properly.

There must be checkers to see who votes, a telephone committee to remind the voters to vote, a baby-sitting brigade, a transportation committee, and challengers and poll watchers to prevent any fraudulent practices at the polls. Sometimes all these responsibilities fall directly on the canvassing committee at headquarters. More frequently, however, the election-day committees are organized at the precinct level, with the canvassing committee at headquarters setting up a pool of workers who can be sent to individual precincts as they are needed.

During the entire process, each party will be concentrating on the voters in its fold.

The fact that during a special senatorial election in Wisconsin 50,000 calls were made by central telephone operators in Milwaukee County on election day to get out the vote on behalf of one candidate has been well publicized. It has been estimated that as many as 80,000 to 100,000 voters may have been reached with 75 telephones. Less publicized has been the fact that the women making the phone calls were not phoning people at random; they were calling people sympathetic to their candidate. Incidentally, he won! Can you imagine the tremendous amount of time and planning that this took?

Timing

The goal of every campaign is to bring the enthusiasm of the workers and of the voters to its highest peak on election day. Almost everyone can remember campaigns in which the candidate seemed to be more popular at the beginning of the campaign than at the end. This may have been due to some unfortunate occurrence, such as an ill-advised remark of the candidate that received wide publicity; but more likely it was due to the fact that the campaign hit its peak before election day. Politicians say this is what happened to Willkie's campaign in 1940. In other campaigns, it is obvious that the real drive was organized too late to achieve its maximum effectiveness on election day.

A popular technique is to start campaigning long before the formal announcement of the candidacy — possibly as much as a year before. This has many advantages. It can be made to appear that the candidate is responding to popular demand that he run. An influential man who is not an acknowledged candidate may be asked to speak at more meetings and receive more favorable publicity than after he becomes a candidate. After his candidacy is announced, both the press and the public may be inclined to discount his remarks and consider them "just politics" and not an expression of what he really thinks.

At the same time practical politicians are building up their candidate, they will use all possible techniques to deflate the opposition. Murray Chotiner, manager of two campaigns for Richard M. Nixon, describes the process:

> Why do you have to start a year ahead of time? Because if you have an incumbent of the opposition party, you need that time to deflate your opposition. I use that word advisedly. There are many people who say, we don't want that kind of campaign. They say, we want to conduct a constructive campaign and point out the merits of our own candidate. I believe, in all sincerity, that if you do not deflate the opposition candidate before your own campaign gets started, the odds are you are doomed to defeat.
>
> If your candidate is the incumbent, and the opponent is unknown, you may decide to deflate the opponent by ignoring him. Whether we like it or not, the American people in many instances vote against a candidate, against a party or against an issue, rather than for a candidate or a party or an issue.
>
> You also need that year's time to build your own candidate.[1]

Murray Chotiner also says, "The first thing in the conduct of a campaign is timing."[2] By and large, this sense of timing must be developed through trial and error in campaigns. At the same time, there are some useful guideposts, the most important of which is the official election calendar. This is based on the legal requirements for such things as the last day for absentee voters' applications, the last day for submitting petitions for nomination in order to get on the ballot, the last day for naming election officials, and similar things. This timetable, of course, varies in different states.

---

[1] From POLITICS U.S.A., *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[2] *Ibid.*

Issues

No book such as this can outline effective campaign strategy. That strategy must be fashioned from all the facts that can be collected and the opinions and behavior of the voters as interpreted by the campaign leaders.

Following an exhaustive analysis of the 1952 elections, the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan reached this conclusion:

> It is clear that both candidates [Eisenhower and Stevenson] in 1952 received the largest portion of their support from their loyal partisans who had followed the party banner in 1948. This is the solid core which both parties depend on when they go into an election. In 1952 this core was a much larger proportion of the Democratic total vote than it was of the Republican, although in actual numbers of voters the two party followings did not differ greatly in this respect. Each party added to its core vote a sizable number of newly activated voters and a somewhat smaller number of young voters. Each drew a small number of people who had voted for minor parties in 1948. The coup de grace was administered to the hopes of the Democratic party, however, by the addition to the Republican total of a substantial number of erstwhile Democrats. Had these 1948 Democrats stayed with Stevenson in 1952, General Eisenhower would not have gone to the White House.[1]

The lessons of a national campaign — in which voters are more likely to shift allegiances than in a local campaign — emphasize two important interrelated parts of any successful campaign. The first is the use of an effective precinct organization to get out the loyal partisan vote; the second part is to use good candidates and effective propaganda to prevent shifts from the party by those who have less strong party ties and to win over those who might lean the other way.

The development of issues to be debated in the campaign coincides with this fundamental purpose of motivating those on your side and of swinging as much of the opposition's "weak" vote to your side as possible. Issues create discussion and thus draw attention to the arguments of the candidates.

---

[1] Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, *The Voter Decides*. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson & Company [1954], p. 17.

To be effective, issues must appeal to the people; they must be suitable to the area; they must be related to the office to which the candidate seeks election.

What do these standards mean?

The issues must appeal to the people. Most politicians would agree that when Eisenhower in the 1952 campaign said he would go to Korea to end the war, it had great emotional appeal. Conversely, politicians would agree that Stevenson's discussions of the hydrogen bomb tests in 1956 never captured the popular imagination.

The issues must be suitable to the area. Political issues in a large city will be different from those in a rural area. A candidate in the Pacific Northwest may talk about public power more than a candidate in Massachusetts.

Issues must be related to the office. Eisenhower's declaration that he would go to Korea was in keeping with his job as President; if a candidate for county sheriff had talked that way, he would have been hopelessly ridiculed. The voters would want to know, rather, what he was going to do about reducing crime or eliminating waste in the sheriff's office.

In his book, *Party Politics,* Ivan Hinderaker offered some pertinent advice on the selection of issues:

> From a study of back newspaper files or from interviews with those who have had a long acquaintance with the district, the campaign organization should find out what are the local political issues which evoke the strongest response among the people. Perhaps the district has an acute flooding problem during the rainy season and had long sought an adequate drainage system. Perhaps it is a coastal district in which property values would skyrocket if it obtained the small boat harbor which it has sought for ten to twenty years. . . .
>
> Candidates who neglect the "local interest pattern" are not likely to get very far in an election campaign. In general, candi-

dates who openly oppose the "local interest pattern" will not get as far as those who merely neglect them. A political campaign is not the time for an "educational campaign." It is too short for the seeds of education to take firm root, even though the people might someday be educated to another position.[1]

Campaign themes. In general, campaigns revolve around one or two issues. Raymond Moley says:

> Don't confuse voters with many issues, some of which are small and others large. A selection should be made by a committee composed of the wisest and most experienced of the organizing group, together with the candidate or candidates, and top regular party people. Then stick to those issues. Don't be diverted into adding new issues brought up by the opposition. Those wise in the ways of politics can usually determine the issues before the opposition has opened fire. When presented often, these put the opposition in a position of answering and denying which is often fatal. Seize the initiative and keep it.[2]

Some practical politicians have advanced the belief that every campaign should have a theme — not necessarily a slogan, but a general theme around which the campaigning can be built.

On the national level, the selection of such a theme and an issue is illustrated, once again, by Mr. Redding, the publicity director of the 1948 campaign of President Truman:

> ". . . I think we can get the jump on our Republican friends by radio. We can hit anything that moves if we get the offensive. The trick will be to have them explaining and answering what we have to say. We should never answer them. Let them do the explaining!"
>
> "How will you get the jump on radio?" asked Hannegan "How can you get the jump on them anywhere?"
>
> "The issue is Big Business and the high cost of living. We'll accuse them on this issue, indict them, and find them guilty." [3]

---

[1] Ivan Hinderaker, *Party Politics*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1956, p. 524.

[2] Raymond E. Moley, *The Political Responsibility of Businessmen*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, pp. 34-35.

[3] Redding, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

The Follow-Through

On election night, the party faithful will gather in campaign headquarters to follow the election returns as they come in — and to rejoice or sorrow, as the case may be.

The handbook of political education, *How to Win*, published by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, says:

> The campaign is over at last.
>
> You are ready now to start work on the next one.
>
> Yes, the time to begin political organization for an election is Wednesday morning, the day after the last election.

Thanks. The first thing that experienced politicians do the day after the election is to make sure that all those who worked on behalf of the campaign are thanked. The campaign manager and the candidate can draft short notes of appreciation. Perhaps a victory party will be arranged.

Candidates for offices such as Senator, covering a whole state, may spend several days touring the area and thanking key people who worked for them. Senator Wayne Morse spent *two weeks* touring Oregon after the 1956 election thanking the voters for re-electing him.

Analysis. The second thing that experienced politicians do after the campaign is to analyze the vote precinct by precinct.

The vote this year is compared with the previous election. In what precincts did the party show gains? In what precincts did it show losses? What percentage of the registered voters actually turned out to vote? Did the party do well in areas where it turned out a big vote? Poorer in others that had less attention paid to them? Can any connection be seen between the literature and the voting?

In informal discussion with voters or at more formal meetings, the campaign should be thoroughly reviewed to make sure that the next campaign is even better.

Politics — and campaigning — is a year-round business.

CASE PROBLEM 5

The Newtown General Election Campaign

Cast of Characters:

Clarence Barton	*City Leader of a Political Party in Newtown*	*Policy Group for Campaign*
Wallace Kramer	*Campaign Manager of Barton's Party for the general election*	
Ellis Low	*Candidate for Mayor*	
Patrick Schmidt	*Candidate for City Council*	
Bill Menefee	*Candidate for City Council (incumbent seeking re-election)*	
Joe Ryan	*Barton's party leader in Ward 2*	

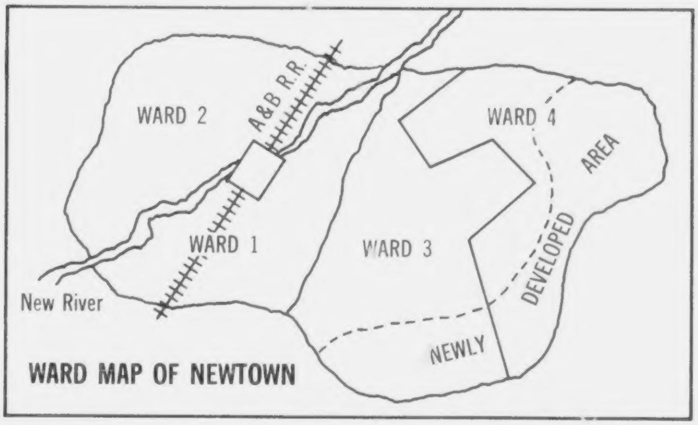
Clarence Barton, the city leader of a political party in Newtown, on August 1 appoints Wallace Kramer campaign manager for the general election. Kramer has been a precinct leader for the party and has served on the finance committee. He has been active in politics for four years.

Councilmen in Newtown are elected on a city-wide basis, as opposed to the practice in some cities of having the voters in each ward elect a councilman from that ward. Their term of four years is staggered, two running every two years. Nevertheless, it has been the custom to select nominees for the Council on the basis of one from each ward, so that each of the four wards would have at least one man representing it on the City Council. The Mayor's term is two years.

Here is how the City Council now appears in terms of party representation.

NEWTOWN CITY COUNCIL

Office	*Term*	*From*	*Party Affiliation*	*Up for Election*
Mayor	2 years	Ward 3	Opposition	This year
Councilman	4 years	Ward 1	Opposition	2 years hence
Councilman	4 years	Ward 2	Opposition	This year
Councilman	4 years	Ward 3	Opposition	2 years hence
Councilman	4 years	Ward 4	Barton's Party (Menefee)	This year



WARD MAP OF NEWTOWN

Voting Statistics. In the last election, the voting statistics in round numbers for each party, aside from variations between individual candidates, was about as follows:

Ward	*Barton's Party*	*Opposition*	*Total Vote*
Ward 1 (13 precincts)	2000	3700	5700
Ward 2 (10 precincts)	1100	3400	4500
Ward 3 (9 precincts)	2400	2100	4500
Ward 4 (9 precincts)	3300	2000	5300
Totals	8800	11,200	20,000

Candidates. In the primary, Barton's party organization backed Ellis Low for Mayor; Bill Menefee of Ward 4 for another Council term; and Patrick Schmidt of Ward 3 for the Council.

Ordinarily, the organization would have selected a Council candidate from Ward 2 instead of Ward 3, because of the custom of having one Councilman from each ward. However, the party leader in Ward 2, Joe Ryan, had insisted on a completely unacceptable candidate. Since Barton had been unable to find a good man in Ward 2 who would "buck" Ryan, he put up Schmidt from Ward 3. Low and Menefee were unopposed in the primary, but Ryan contested Schmidt with his candidate. Their primary fight was bitter, but Schmidt won easily.

In addition to candidates for local office, there are county elections for district attorney, sheriff, and county clerk. There are two state representatives to be elected, part of whose districts lie in the city; a state senator whose district covers the county and two other counties; a Congressman whose district covers 15 surrounding counties; a U. S. Senator; and a Governor. All of these are incumbents and of Barton's party. All are reasonably good candidates, except the Governor, who is unpopular because of his handling of certain matters affecting Newtown.

Low, Schmidt, and Menefee are generally conceded to be outstanding candidates: capable, successful, forceful, and appealing. They are all active in a number of civic groups. All three are vigorous and experienced campaigners.

Having such good candidates was no accident. Barton was out to win, had started preparation early, and saw to it that each man received a good publicity build-up well in advance of the primary. All three had been speaking at least once a week before various groups for almost nine months.

Organization. Barton's political organization is in fine shape in Wards 3 and 4, where most of his party's votes come from. In Ward 2, he has the problem with Ryan. In Ward 1, the quality of the leadership is only average, and there are some precincts without leaders.

Strategy. The policy group, composed of Barton, Kramer, Low, Menefee, and Schmidt, sit down on August 10th to thrash out strategy. Kramer has already appointed and briefed his chairmen of publicity, finance, research, speakers, headquarters, volunteers, and others. Barton would handle co-ordination and supervision of precinct work himself.

They rapidly cover the following points, making decisions where they can:

1. Play down the Governor race. Emphasize the local election, since local candidates are strong, but the Governor is not popular.
2. Open main headquarters downtown in Ward 1 on the day

after Labor Day and simultaneously begin the campaign. All ward and precinct leaders are to be present at the opening. The candidates would define the issues to the workers, then Kramer and Barton would brief and exhort the workers. Barton and Kramer would stay on after the meeting to meet with workers who had grievances, problems, or other things they wanted to be heard on. Asked whether or not he wanted publicity for the opening, Barton hesitates, then says, "No."

3. Concentrate on Wards 3 and 4. Work hardest on precinct organization there. Have each candidate spend some time in every precinct in those wards talking with the precinct leaders and voters at tea or coffee parties, neighborhood gatherings, supermarket visits, and the like.
4. Set up a working "Citizens for Low, Schmidt, and Menefee" group. Kramer had found enough support among civic-minded citizens to assure that this would be successful. It was decided to ask them to set up their headquarters in a store with a display window in Ward 2, even though most members would come from Wards 3 and 4.
5. Set up letterhead groups of prominent doctors, lawyers, merchants, and so forth. Attempt to have at least one person in each group who is prominent in lay activities of a religious faith in town.
6. A rally is planned, though no date set. The Governor's schedule calls for an appearance in Newtown on October 23rd. The Governor's staff is pressing for a decision about the date.
7. Kramer reports that the finance picture is good. Contributors have faith in the ticket and its chances. The finance chairman has a three-pronged drive to get funds going — through personal solicitations, a mailing, and a fund-raising dinner scheduled for September 15th. Kramer is assigned to sit down with the "Citizens for Low, Schmidt, and Menefee" to decide whom that group should solicit for money and which regular contributors should be reserved for the standard party money-raising efforts. Barton is authorized to request a reduction in the finance quota for Newtown from the County Committee before the County Committee calls to ask them to raise the quota.

8. A tentative decision is made to buy a certain amount of newspaper space, radio and TV time, and billboards. Budgets are worked out for a paid staff, headquarters rent, literature and mailing costs, phone bill, funds for election-day precinct workers, and the like.
9. Kramer pushes through a proposal to set up two training schools for precinct workers and leaders: one evening school for registration-drive training, a second school four days before the election on getting out the voters. The usual school for poll watchers and clerks is planned.
10. Plans are made for a central telephoning operation to cover selected precincts in Wards 1 and 3 that are known to be weak. A citizens' group will be asked to set up a similar operation in Ward 2 to cover the whole ward.

Issues. On issues, the following breakdown is made.

Barton's Party		Opposition Party	
Strong	*Vulnerable*	*Strong*	*Vulnerable*
Proposed flood control Roads, sewers, etc., in newly developed area Economy in government	Taxes to pay for roads and sewers	Welfare, parks, schools	Flood during their administration caused deaths, property damage Government inefficiency Downtown traffic Poor service in providing pavements, sewers, etc., in newly developed areas

Barton asserts: "Our best issue is flood control. Wards 1 and 2 were hardest hit by the recent floods, and if we can't get the people down there to vote for us, at least it will discourage voting for the opposition. In the new housing developments in Wards 3 and 4, there is dissatisfaction over paving, sewers, garbage collection, street lights, and so forth. Hay can be made there. The only thing they can throw at us is taxes, and we can answer by pointing out their weakness in government economy and their inefficiency. Emphasize our strong points; hit their weak ones; never go on the defensive." Everyone agrees. It is also agreed to stay away from national and state issues.

Timing. As the campaign progresses, schedules are carried out well until the first week in October.

Day after Labor Day. Headquarters opens. Campaign officially begins. Precinct leaders are on notice to get moving.

September 17. Finances are reassessed by policy group. A little short, even after the dinner. Finance chairman comes up with last-minute new solicitation gimmick. Citizens' club is asked to contribute. No luck; some resentment.

September 30. Opposition accuses Schmidt of shady real-estate deal in connection with property being sold for delinquent taxes; charge he had bribed tax official. Barton advised, "Don't answer."

October 5. Schmidt real-estate deal on front page every day. Everyone in organization furious at Barton. At Kramer's request, Barton calls meeting of policy group. Barton says he originally thought the excitement would blow over if they didn't answer the charge. Since it had grown to major proportions, they had better answer loudly, clearly, and quickly. The policy group decides to take time on radio and TV and publish advertisements in the newspaper. Schmidt to appear on radio and TV. Barton warns Schmidt to answer clearly, summarize why he is innocent in not more than two main points, then go on to accuse opposition of delivering a low blow with a charge known to be trumped up. Further, accuse them of trying to cover up the real issues of flood control and services for newly developed areas. Day of broadcast, newspaper advertisement is scheduled saying: "Schmidt on Trial — Tune in Tonight!" Next day's papers to carry advertisements on flood damage with pictures, copy to read: "Stop danger to life and property! Vote for Low, Schmidt, Menefee."

October 15. Club leaders called in. Women's club assigned responsibility for setting up and manning central phone operation on election day. Young peoples' club to start getting ready to man polling places in Ward 2 if Ryan's people walk out. Ryan, still angry over primary, is now mad at activity of citizens' group in his ward. "Citizens for L-S-M are offending the voters in my ward, driving them over to the opposition," he says. 'I may go with them." Ryan emotional; no peace terms possible.

October 17. Governor's office delivers ultimatum on rally in Newtown: either it is set for October 23 or it is cancelled. Barton has learned that the Governor is booked solid the week before election, so he tells the Governor's secretary he would like to have him that week, on the 28th. Says his local campaign timing won't dovetail with a rally for the Governor on the 23rd. The secretary explodes, tells Barton they can lose Newtown by no more than 300 votes if they are going to win the state. Barton says the Governor will carry Newtown by 300 to 500. Conversation ends abruptly.

Barton calls in Kramer. They schedule a rally for Tuesday, the 28th, featuring local candidates. Kramer has already booked the high school auditorium for the 28th. They map out assignments for clubs, citizens' groups, ward and precinct leaders, and chairmen of the campaign committees so that each person working on the campaign has a responsibility for bringing a certain number to the rally. The speakers chairman is to preside. Kramer is to supervise generally. Publicity chairman assigned to promote rally, Barton to supervise ticket distribution.

Barton issues orders to hold up all mailings, advertising, speaking engagements from Saturday, the 25th, until Wednesday and Thursday, the 29th and 30th.

October 18. Opposition appears to be making headway with their record on schools and welfare. Candidates meet with Barton and Kramer, say that everything is going wrong, that they should shift and either find fault with the schools or say that welfare spending is getting out of hand or somehow cancel the opposition effect. Barton and Kramer soothe them; point out they are making headway on their own issues more than they may realize; say the opposition is definitely defensive on flood control. To shift the attack now would be to fight the opposition on their own ground. Candidates reluctantly agree to continue original strategy.

October 27. All city road equipment concentrated in Wards

3 and 4. City has put on extra men. Pictures in paper. Barton says, "This is what we have been waiting for!"

October 28. Rally. Low hits last-minute street paving in Wards 3 and 4 as obvious attempt to cover up in the week before the election the sins of the past four years and an effort to buy the election by putting more men in the roads department. He calls this financing elections with taxpayers' funds. The overflow crowd of party faithful cheer to the rafters. Rally broadcast by radio and TV.

October 29 to Election Day. Steady stream of advertisements and radio and TV spots as far as budget permits. Monday night a radio-TV half-hour show at 10:30 P.M. Candidates and their families appear, issues summed up.

Election Day. Candidates shaking hands outside polls all day. Ryan jumps on bandwagon at last minute when he shows up to collect money to pay his election-day workers. Club workers man many polls in Ward 2 where Ryan's people don't show up. Central telephone operations successfully manned.

Low, Schmidt, and Menefee win, with Schmidt trailing the others by about 150 votes. The following chart indicates, in round numbers, the margin by which Low and Menefee won.

ELECTION RESULTS

	Barton's Party	*Opposition*	*Total Vote*
Ward 1	2100	3100	5200
Ward 2	850	2900	3750
Ward 3	3000	1600	4600
Ward 4	3950	1400	5350
Totals	9900	9000	18,900

The Governor ran well behind the local ticket, but he carried the city by 250 votes. The U.S. Senator and other party candidates carried the city with margins of 500 to 800 votes.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the merits of the policy group's decision to "concentrate on Wards 3 and 4" (page 97, point 3).
2. Barton and his policy group decided to stress local candidates and to de-emphasize the Governor race.
   (a) How did this affect campaign issues?
   (b) What influence did it have on the rally?
   (c) How might this decision influence the Newtown party organization's relations with the Governor?
3. How much importance do you attach to the public speeches and such planned for Low and Menefee before the campaign?
4. Experienced politicians named two reasons why Schmidt would be a weaker candidate, even prior to the real-estate smear, than Menafee. What do you think they were?
5. In a way, Kramer and Barton by-passed Ryan, the leader of the second ward, with the citizens' group.
   (a) How do you feel about this?
   (b) How else might they have handled the situation?
6. The campaign financing problem was not bad at all. What three factors influenced this result?
7. Barton advised Low and the other candidates not to debate the opposition's issues. Comment on his remarks in this regard on pages 98-99 and 100.
8. At first, Barton insisted that Schmidt should not answer attacks on this real-estate deal. Later the attacks gained so much attention they became a major issue. What do you think were Barton's reasons for the original advice?
9 When Schmidt was obliged to answer the attacks, comment on Barton's advice before the TV appearance.
10. Barton held back the rally until one week before the election. He also insisted that no statements be made for four days before the rally, and he held up all mailings until Wednesday and all radio and TV appearances, spots, and newspaper advertisements until Thursday.
    (a) What effect was he trying to achieve?
    (b) What are the advantages and disadvantages of this procedure?
11. Most decisions made in the campaign had to do with directly influencing the voters. Some others were made primarily to motivate the organization. Identify some of those primarily aimed at the organization.
12. Several actions were planned specifically to get out the "saints."

VICTORY IN '68
REAGAN

The tempo of a national campaign reaches its first climax during the frenzy of the nominating convention, but the quieter confrontation between candidate and voters is often of greater significance.

Paralleling the campaign itself is the drive to "get out the vote." The young people at left are canvassing the neighborhood, trying to make sure that all eligible citizens are registered before the election. Below, three workers examine a map of their city's election districts as they plan a similar drive.

When the polls open on election day the work of the campaign is essentially over. It is now up to voters like this woman to decide which of the many candidates is best fitted for office. As the day progresses, party workers and newsmen stationed at local headquarters keep track of the rising vote totals. News coverage of the election will be intense and, thanks to modern communications systems and the use of computers, citizens will usually be able to learn the results of the voting within a few hours after the closing of the polls.

THE PRESIDENCY
2%
489,885 43%
397,105 35%
WALLACE
238,925 21%
OTHERS
419 %

The opportunity for a citizen to participate in politics does not end with the close of an election. It is equally vital that concerned citizens work for policies and legislation they believe in. The marchers above are seeking to rally support for their stand on the Vietnamese War, while the young man below is working to have the voting age lowered to 18. Other citizens have joined campaigns to fight for conservation, or to oppose corruption in government.

HEADQUARTERS
P O BOX 10726
Pittsburgh, Pa 15203
V O T E

Most of these were unspectacular and had to do with organization mechanics.

(a) Identify those you think fit this description.

(b) Identify the other actions of an issue or enthusiasm-raising nature directed at "saints."

13. **(a)** What issue specifically was aimed at "savables" and "sinners" and was used to discredit the opposition?

(b) Why did Barton think it would be effective?

(c) Which issue was aimed at "saints" and "savables"?

(d) What was the dramatic result of pressing the issue?

14. Note that both Barton's party vote and the opposition vote in Ward 2 dropped off.

(a) What are the reasons for the drop in each party's vote?

(b) How can you account for the decrease in the opposition vote in Wards 3 and 4?

(c) How can you account for the increase in Barton's party vote in Wards 3 and 4?

15. It has been observed that Barton's party won not so much by getting out more votes than usual but by the fact that the opposition's vote was less than usual.

(a) Can you interpret how this happened?

(b) Would you consider Barton's campaign successful?

(c) In future elections, when issues might be different, what changes in organization and strategy might be in order?

4

Political Clubs

> *I hope all Americans, men and women, regardless of what may be their chosen profession, will consider giving some of their lives to the field of politics. Winston Churchill once said, "Democracy is the worst form of government except for all of the other systems that have been tried." It is certainly the most demanding. It requires more from us all than any other system, particularly in these days when the watch fires of the enemy camp burn bright. I think all of us, therefore must be willing to give some of ourselves to this most exacting discipline of self-government. The magic of politics is not the panoply of office. The magic of politics is participating on all levels of national life in an affirmative way, of playing a small role in determining whether, in William Faulkner's words, "Freedom will not only endure, but also prevail."*
>
> JOHN F. KENNEDY[1]

Three basic channels of political participation are open to the average citizen: working in his precinct, working at headquarters during a campaign, and working in a political club.

The active political citizen will probably engage in all three types of work. But for the beginner, the third channel — participation in a political club — is especially suitable because:

1. Clubs are active all year round.

---

[1] *From* POLITICS U. S. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

2. Almost anyone can join. There are Young Democratic and Young Republican Clubs in high schools and colleges in addition to adult clubs.
3. Clubs provide an excellent opportunity for learning about politics and politicians and for developing political organizing and leadership skills.

Clubs have become popular because of what they have to give to individuals:

A chance to develop organizing and managerial skills for those who have not yet had an opportunity to do so in their jobs.

An opportunity to develop knowledge and skills in public affairs that will be useful to a person if he should attain a position of major responsibility.

A broadening experience to those who work in highly specialized jobs.

New personal and business contacts.

And — this is not to be sold short — a lot of fun and some long-lasting friendships.

The Origin of the Political Club

The first ancestor of the political club, perhaps, was a "school of politics" organized in ancient Athens by the legendary philosopher, Socrates, to discuss political theory and practice.

Elements of the political club developed in many institutions through the centuries. The coffeehouses of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century London, for example, served as centers of conversation on literature and the philosophy of politics. The genial atmosphere of the coffeehouses foreshadowed the social aspects of today's political clubs.

That familiar institution, New York's Tammany Hall, began as a discussion group. Although the character of Tammany has altered until it is now synonymous with the New York County Democratic Committee, its charter members were the leaders of an anti-Federalist faction, and one of the most prominent figures was Aaron Burr.

Heavy immigration in the nineteenth century spurred development of the "big city" clubs. Immigrants were eager to become Americans, to be part and parcel of their new land. By offering the newcomers membership in political clubs, political leaders provided them with a chance to learn the ways and language of America. Club leaders helped them to find jobs, too. In exchange for these services and opportunities, the political leader received the loyalty — and the votes — of these new citizens. The clubs were the heart of this exchange.

Direct descendants of these early groups, which were largely ethnic in character and often bore such names as the "Irish-American Club" or the "Polish-American Society," are still active in many metropolitan areas in the eastern United States.

The politicians who organized the "big city" clubs were concerned with votes. The growth of clubs was linked inevitably to the goal of obtaining votes for the party and to the development of party leadership and workers.

One of the Tammany leaders around 1900, George Washington Plunkitt, established himself as a "homey orator," willing to spout political philosophy at the drop of a bowler hat. Using a bootblack stand as his platform, Plunkitt developed a flair for couching political truisms in down-to-earth language.

Historians agree that Plunkitt was never a real power in Tammany, but his discourses on the mechanics and subtleties of politics are still valuable. Plunkitt understood clearly the use of clubs as a device for building a following and establishing himself as a political power:

> Let me tell you. I had a cousin, a young man who didn't take any particular interest in politics. I went to him and said: "Tommy, I'm goin' to be a politician, and I want to get a followin'; can I count on you?" He said: "Sure, George." That's how I started in business. I got a marketable commodity — one vote. Then I went to the district leader and told him I could command two votes on election day, Tommy's and my own. He smiled on me and told me to go ahead. If I had offered him a speech or a bookful of learnin' he would have said, "Oh, forget it!"
>
> That was beginnin' business in a small way, wasn't it? But that is the only way to become a real lastin' statesman. I soon branched out. Two young men in the flat next to mine were

> school friends. I went to them, just as I went to Tommy, and they agreed to stand by me. Then I had a followin' of three voters and I began to get a bit chesty. Whenever I dropped into district headquarters, everybody shook hands with me, and the leader one day honored me by lightin' a match for my cigar. And so it went on like a snowball rollin' down a hill. I worked the flat-house that I lived in from the basement to the top floor, and I got about a dozen young men to follow me. Then I tackled the next house and so on down the block and around the corner. Before long I had sixty men back of me, and formed the George Washington Plunkitt Association.
>
> What did the district leader say then when I called at headquarters? I didn't have to call at headquarters. He came after me and said: "George, what do you want? If you don't see what you want, ask for it. . . ."[1]

Functions of Today's Political Club

How closely does the original purpose of obtaining votes and party workers parallei the purpose of today's political club? The present-day political club has four principal functions:

1. Keeping party workers together all year round. Club activities keep workers from drifting away from the organization between campaigns.
2. Enlisting new party workers. Clubs continually recruit new members and act to change politically nonactive citizens into regular party workers.
3. Serving as a man-power pool to supply volunteers to the party for precinct work and work at campaign headquarters.
4. Providing a political training ground for workers and leaders. The organization and operation of a political club provide basic training in political mechanics and management.

Some clubs serve two additional functions which, while not quite so basic as the four above, are also important:

---

[1] *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall:* A Series of Very Plain Talks on Very Practical Politics, Delivered by ex-Senator George Washington Plunkitt, the Tammany Philosopher, from his Rostrum — the New York County Court-House Bootblack Stand — and Recorded by William L. Riordan. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co., 1905, pp. 14-15.

5. Providing members with an opportunity to study — and so better to understand — issues and government organization. Such understanding and knowledge can be used in developing campaign issues and making sure of better-informed party workers.
6. Raising money. Some clubs make a point of recruiting people who are potential donors to the party war chest. Their membership causes them to identify themselves more closely with the party.

Types of Political Clubs

Political clubs fall, generally, into one of three basic types: party clubs, ethnic clubs, and auxiliary clubs.

Party Clubs

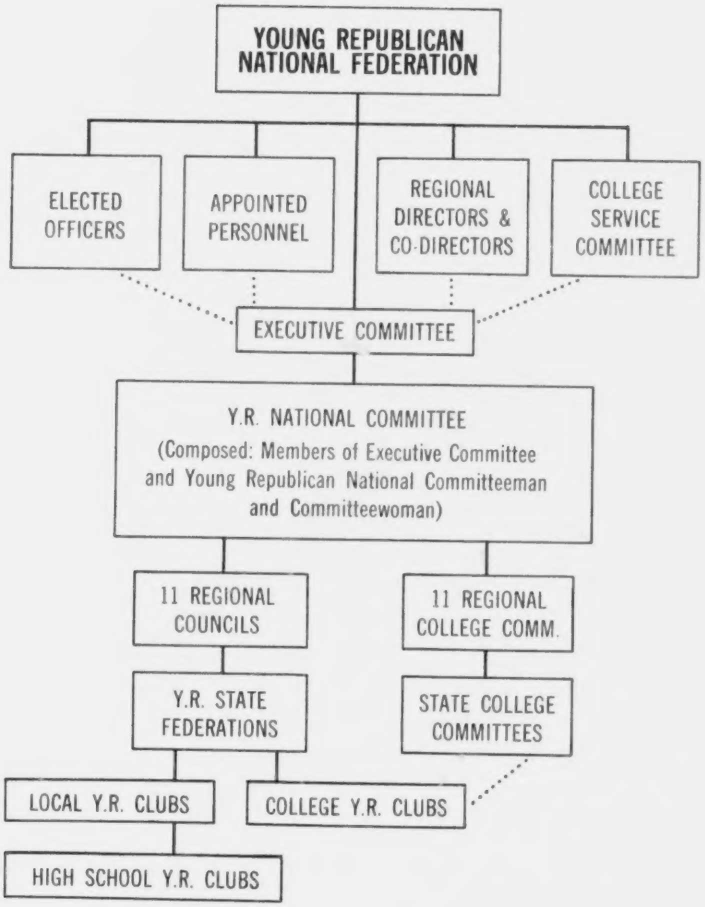
Party clubs can be considered either as a regular part of the political organization or as loyal to the party, but separate from it. Whichever is the case — and opinions vary — these clubs assume much the same form all over the country and carry out the basic functions listed above.

Party clubs include such familiar groups as the Young Republicans, Young Democrats, Democratic Women, Republican Women, and county, city, town, ward, and precinct clubs.

Young (Democratic-Republican) clubs. Young (Democratic-Republican) Clubs attract and hold young people and channel their enthusiasm and energies into active party work. The *early* development of party faithful — and leadership — is a responsibility of these clubs, whose membership is generally open to those in the 18-to-40 age group.

Usually these clubs emphasize social activities, conducting a regular schedule of dances, parties, outings, and similar events during the year. This recreational aspect is not to be discounted; the fact that these clubs are often "coeducational" is no small factor in their growth and success.

Club activities, of course, go far beyond social affairs. Mem-


YOUNG REPUBLICAN NATIONAL FEDERATION
ELECTED OFFICERS
APPOINTED PERSONNEL
REGIONAL DIRECTORS & CO-DIRECTORS
COLLEGE SERVICE COMMITTEE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Y.R. NATIONAL COMMITTEE (Composed: Members of Executive Committee and Young Republican National Committeeman and Committeewoman)
11 REGIONAL COUNCILS
11 REGIONAL COLLEGE COMM.
Y.R. STATE FEDERATIONS
STATE COLLEGE COMMITTEES
LOCAL Y.R. CLUBS
COLLEGE Y.R. CLUBS
HIGH SCHOOL Y.R. CLUBS

Organizational Structure of Young Republican National Federation.

(from *Young Republican Organization Manual*, Young Republican National Federation, Washington, D.C.)

bers man the polls and campaign headquarters, do precinct work, operate sound trucks, prepare and distribute political literature, study and debate issues, conduct opinion polls, and sometimes even raise money for the party.

The value of these clubs to the individual is increased by the fact that they are organized on county, state, and national levels, as well as local, and hold conventions and meetings at frequent intervals.

Participation in the state and national organizations provides opportunities to acquire new ideas, new techniques for political action, and a broadened outlook. Skill in political maneuvering and negotiation is sharpened. Important contacts can also be made, because many Young Republicans and Young Democrats of today will be the state legislators, governors, congressmen, and cabinet officers of tomorrow.

Both major parties are now "recruiting" the prevoting population with the formation of college and high school political clubs.

Women's clubs. Any practicing politician is quick to proclaim the value of women in political work.

Women now sit in the United States House and Senate and in state legislatures; they serve as mayors and hold many other responsible government positions. In the party structure, too, they are city chairmen, vice chairmen, campaign managers, and fill many other policy-level jobs.

Much, if not most, of the feminine leadership of political parties has come from women's political clubs. Their widespread existence is explained by one metropolitan political chief in this way:

> There are a lot of important party jobs that men just won't — or can't — do. Women not only *will* do them — they'll do them with talent. Politics is mainly detail and follow-through —and that's what women have a real skill for.

At the peak of campaign activity, women's groups display their talents. Mass mailings, telephone operations, baby-sitting services, myriad "detail jobs" are largely the handiwork of the ladies. And since "a woman understands women" so well, they can be valuable as speakers and members of forums before feminine audiences.

City, town, and ward clubs. City, town, and ward clubs are related to both geographic and political divisions. The ward club, for example, serves to hold together the party faithful in the ward.

This type of club is usually "coeducational." And like the "young" club, the social activities are emphasized, without slighting the other basic purposes of the club.

It is most likely to have money raising as one of its purposes. Members may include many who are in a position to help finance the party organization. Their contact, through the club, with political leaders and political problems serves to convince them of the need for money and gives them confidence in the people who will be spending it.

Sometimes these clubs sponsor money-raising social affairs and turn the receipts over to the party. In addition, having small expenses but a fair income from dues, they often are in a position to make regular, substantial contributions, as organizations, to the party.

Ethnic Clubs

Similar to party clubs in both concept and purpose are the ethnic organizations that dot the political landscape, particularly in the East. These clubs are often named after national figures; for example, the Columbian League or Abraham Lincoln Club.

In addition to perpetuating land-of-origin customs and traditions, such groups serve largely as a social extension of political activity. Members are likely to be active in regular party clubs as well.

Ethnic clubs are largely a "man's world," although many have associated units for women.

Ethnic clubs are an addition to, rather than a duplication of, the regular party clubs. They offer the party a direct channel to the voters of various ethnic groups.

Auxiliary Clubs

So-called auxiliary clubs, such as "Citizens for Eisenhower" or "Volunteers for Stevenson," have become especially popular in recent presidential campaigns, but they are sometimes a factor in state, and even in local, elections. Theodore H. White states that in the 1960 presidential campaign:

> Nixon . . . moved immediately to the creation of a massive Citizens for Nixon-Lodge organization across the country; and, untroubled by the feuds that divided Party machine from restive reformers on the Democratic side, he mobilized in the end a citizen movement as effective as the classic Eisenhower citizen mobilization of 1952.[1]

Auxiliary clubs are not usually permanent organizations. They exist only during one campaign and are composed of those party members and "independents" who wish to support one candidate rather than an entire slate. Generally they are independent of the regular party organization and outside its structure.

"Citizens for Whoosit" raise money, set up headquarters, prepare and distribute literature, and engage in other campaign activities. They are particularly useful in influencing the votes of those citizens who are unfriendly to a regular party. "Citizens for Eisenhower," for instance, provided many Democrats with an opportunity to work for a candidate they liked and at the same time avoid affiliation with the Republican Party.

Many independents who will not work for either party will join a club that is formed to support an individual candidate. Many people who will not contribute to a regular party will give substantial donations to an auxiliary club.

Members of auxiliary clubs often transfer to a regular party club at the close of a campaign. Having tasted the excitement and rewards of politics, many lose their antipathy to the regular organization and join a party club to keep working on a regular basis.

The advantages of auxiliary clubs may be offset to some extent by basic weaknesses. Although most auxiliary groups maintain liaison with the regular party groups, this relationship is sometimes so loose that efforts are duplicated and resources wasted. The natural antipathy between professionals and amateurs may cause friction — and friction may cost valuable votes.

---

[1] White, *op. cit.*, page 266.

Leonard Hall, former chairman of the Republican National Committee, says that:

> The amateur or independent organizations are useful in getting to the polls those independent votes you must have to win elections. Personally I don't think it's a good trend. I would rather see two strong, growing political parties. But as things are, it appears that the independent groups are with us, and will be with us for a long time to come.
>
> They were a distinct advantage to the Eisenhower campaigns. What you get out of them is enthusiasm. There is nothing wrong with fanfare, confetti and enthusiasm. In politics, commotion looks good. And the amateurs create it.[1]

"Letterhead Clubs"

A common political campaign gambit is the setting up of a series of "letterhead clubs." While these organizations do not offer an avenue to political participation, they are often effective campaign devices. They consist of a group of prominent individuals who publicize their support of a candidate through publicity photographs and by circulating letters on his behalf using club stationery.

While such groups may be effective in a limited way, they are not true clubs. They are essentially a campaign device.

Political Club Organization

Party clubs are generally organized along much the same lines, whether they are "young" clubs, women's clubs, or city, ward, and town clubs. Auxiliary clubs — the "Citizens for Whoosit" clubs — are organized entirely differently.

Clubs may range from small, informally organized groups with few regular activities to clubs of several thousand members with an organization chart rivaling that of a corporation.

Party Clubs

These generally follow a simple basic format, with members, officers, executive board, and committees as the major elements in their organization.

---

[1] From POLITICS U. S. A., *op. cit.*, p. 118.

Auxiliary Clubs

Since auxiliary clubs are formed just to participate in a campaign, their structure resembles a party campaign committee as much as it does a club.

Without going into detail, an auxiliary club will require officers, an executive board, and a committee structure. The officers and executive board are set up to handle club policy and administrative type duties, much as they would in any club. However, the committee structure will be geared entirely to campaign functions such as finance, publicity, speakers bureau, research, special projects, and so on.

The Relationship of Club Management to the Party

Webster's International Dictionary (Second Edition) defines a club as "an association of persons for the promotion of some common object." Eminently descriptive of a political club, it could apply just as well to a political party — because both are associations with a common purpose: success for the party's principles and standard-bearers. The definition carries connotations of unity — one of the keys to success in politics.

The need for unity extends to the relationship between the party and the political club

Unity can be undermined in many ways. For example, in an area where people are employed in import-export trade, a club resolution calling for higher tariffs could be the source of friction.

It is common for party clubs to have a clause in their constitutions prohibiting the endorsement of candidates in a party primary. This is specifically designed to minimize friction between members of a club and between the club and party organization.

The goal of unity, however, does not require the club to be blindly loyal to the party regulars alone.

Intraparty Fights

Opposition to the regular elected party leadership in any given town, city, or county may develop in political clubs. There are several reasons for this.

First, most of the people who join clubs are citizens who have not had much political experience. They do not understand that their political party cannot subscribe to every policy and ideal they hold as individuals, because it must also appeal to other individuals and groups with different desires in order to get enough votes to win elections. So club members, not understanding this basic problem of political leadership, often are dissatisfied with the present leadership. This dissatisfaction may even be the reason why they become active in politics.

Second, some members are politically ambitious. To move up, they must displace the incumbents who now fill the positions they covet.

Third, as Plunkitt pointed out earlier in this chapter, clubs are an easy and natural means to build a following. A person or a group must develop a following and build it into an organization capable of challenging party leadership in the primary elections if they wish to take over the leadership.

Fourth, the training in political knowledge and skills provided by working in a leadership capacity in a club equips potential challengers with much of the "know-how" they need to wage such a contest.

Some political leaders feel that all clubs are potential threats to their leadership. It is the reason why some party leaders will discourage formation of clubs of any kind within their area of jurisdiction.

When a Challenge Is Justified

Party leadership long in power tends to become weak. The leader may begin thinking more of his position and of the rewards it brings to him personally than he does of winning elections or of backing his officeholders in trying to do a good job of governing. When the leadership becomes weak, self-serving, or indifferent, it may be time for a change.

Deciding to Challenge

One of the worst things that can happen is a premature or unjustified challenge to incumbent leadership. There are several criteria that should be examined carefully and thoughtfully before deciding to challenge the leadership.

First, is the leadership really poor? It is important to develop a thorough understanding of the problems of political leadership before deciding that it is poor. A person who is convinced that leadership is poor very often finds, after he learns something about politics, that it actually is doing a creditable job.

Second, can the leadership be beaten soundly? Again, it takes experience and skill to judge the strength of the leadership and to know "how to count votes."

It is not enough to win. The victory must be by a secure margin so that following a successful fight the winners can afford to lose a number of their supporters and still maintain a working majority in whatever the political governing body is. Once the honeymoon is over, the new leadership is bound to lose some support.

If party politics degenerates into a seesaw battle between two or more factions, with no leadership that can command a dependable majority, the party organization turns into a nightmare of "infighting." It then loses both public confidence and elections.

Third, do the newcomers who want to get control of the party have the knowledge and skill to run the party organization if they do win? It is one thing to win, another to handle responsibility successfully. Before challenging the leadership, insurgents should be sure they have the knowledge, skill, personnel, and time to run the party organization.

Fourth, insurgents should consider the consequences of failure. Political oblivion may result if they are beaten badly.

Role of the Club in Challenging

While political clubs are natural vehicles for building a following and developing an insurgent organization, this is not their purpose.

It is generally advisable to leave the club out of fights within the party. The appeal of the club to new members can be jeopardized by its becoming associated with a faction in an intraparty fight. The club provides an opportunity to form personal friendships that could result in a rebellious organization, but the rebels usually wage their fight outside of the club.

How to Become a "Regular" in a Party Club

How to Join

There are no formalities to be observed in applying for membership in a political club. The phone book will generally give the address and telephone number of club headquarters. If the club isn't listed in the telephone book, party headquarters can furnish information on the club and the person to approach. A newspaper office often can provide the name of the club president or party leader. Any officer of the club can generally supply a membership application.

What to Expect

Political groups — and clubs are no exception — are composed of many types of people. Members include intellectuals, "playboys," business people, office boys, mechanics, union members, housewives, secretaries, teachers — people of all social, economic, and ethnic backgrounds.

A newcomer to such a club will do well not to consider any of these people his superiors or inferiors. Each of them in his own way is valuable to the party organization.

The person who joins a political club may at first be repelled by talk of jobs, patronage, party loyalty, party discipline, and voting a straight ticket. He may be surprised that some of the older members apparently lack strong feelings on issues.

These are usually first impressions. The newcomer who attends meetings and helps with the work of the party soon learns the reasons for this kind of talk and begins to understand the general outlook of the more-or-less professional politicians.

"Learning the Ropes"

"Learning the ropes" is just as essential in club work as it is in any other activity, whether vocation or hobby.

Good ideas are always welcome *provided* they are practical, well-thought out, and tactfully presented. Almost everyone has ideas. The one who gets his adopted is the one who considers the proposal from all standpoints before suggesting it to others.

The important thing is that creative ideas (and they needn't be grand or startling) are a sure wedge for getting into the heart of the club's activities — for becoming a "regular." Here are examples of how this has worked in actual situations:

> A newcomer to a party club was assigned to a research committee — a very proper assignment, since he was a statistician. He suggested a well-developed project to the committee, a telephone poll of the community on various phases of the upcoming election. The club gave him the go-ahead, with other members of the research committee serving as the questioners. After compiling the results, he wrote a series of newspaper articles analyzing the survey returns. The evening newspaper not only ran them on the front page; it gave him a by-line (printed his name as the author). The articles raised the community prestige of the club and automatically gave the statistician a following that established him as a leader. A little more than a year after he joined, he was elected president of the club.
>
> A girl who wrote commercial copy for a radio station joined a club. Her assignment was the speakers bureau. She reasoned that many potential speakers, poised and articulate on the platform, were reluctant to accept speaking engagements because of the time necessary to prepare material. She offered to write a series of brief, informal, but informative speeches — for the use of others. Her offer was accepted enthusiastically. In the process of compiling speech material, she made herself known to the party and organization leadership. It wasn't long before she, too, had a following — and gained more responsibility.

In essence, these two people were following the same principles as Plunkitt and other politicians like him. They involved themselves, and others, in programs that were beneficial to the club and the party and so established leadership positions for themselves.

The "In-Group"

The formal structure of the club includes its officers and executive group; but while every group has a formal leadership, there is *another* element of leadership that sociologists call the "in-group." This reference isn't intended to stress the factor beyond its true importance; it is just a note to point out its existence and the necessity of operating with the "in-group" in mind.

The term describes the element that exists in any group: the unofficial "board of advisers" — the small core whose advice and counsel are sought by all. These "in-groups" play a major role in the determination of policy and in the making of major political decisions. While they may not have the parliamentary power to rule on things, they are the arbiters of vital questions.

In some cases, this informal core will actually coincide with the official leadership. Often, though, it will be a combination of official and unofficial "chiefs." It won't take too long for any newcomer to identify the "in-group."

How to Form a Political Club

Organizational Steps

It may be that no party club exists in your community or area. *This is no problem.* The organizational steps to follow in forming a new club are relatively simple. However, you can't just snap your fingers and have a full-blown party club blossom into existence. It takes planning, hard work, co-operative effort, and time; but by following the outlined procedural steps, one can organize a club where and when the need exists. And where no club is in operation, that need probably *does* exist.

The former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Stephen A. Mitchell, tells of starting a neighborhood club on his own street:

> The idea for organizing the Elm Street group came one day in

> December 1957 when I was suddenly chilled with the thought: "suppose somebody challenges me one of these days about this neighborhood political club idea I've been making speeches about and says 'Steve, you've been talking pretty big about the merits of these neighborhood clubs, but have you ever actually tried to organize one yourself?' " So I decided to take a very personal part and test the idea in my own neighborhood.[1]

And in describing the first meeting, Mr. Mitchell says:

> Most of the people came because they had been asked to take part in a political-social gathering at the home of a neighbor. They seemed quite pleased to have occasion to declare their party affiliation and identify themselves with neighbors who were also members of their party. Many said they had not found the door to any party — Republican or Democratic — open to them. Others said that they had found no other pleasant method of "getting into politics."[2]

A political club can be organized in any community by taking six basic steps:

1. A small, hard core of interested persons plans a preorganizational meeting.
2. Key organizers get in touch with party leaders, explain the plans, and enlist the party's active support.
3. The preorganizational meeting is held to name temporary officers and plan the meeting at which the club will be permanently organized.
4. The organizational meeting is then publicized.
5. Detailed planning for the organizational meeting is completed.
6. The organizational meeting is held.

Details of Organization

Here are some of the details involved in each of these steps:

1. *Planning the Preorganizational Meeting.* A *small* group of key individuals who share party loyalty and are interested in forming an active club is easier to manage and can get more

---

[1] Stephen A. Mitchell, *Elm Street Politics*. New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1959, p. 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

done than a larger, unwieldy group. A hard core of six or eight persons is better at this stage than 50 — or even 20. Expert advice and personnel help often are available from a party's state federation of clubs.

2. *Consulting with Local Party Leadership.* The advice and counsel of "practical politicians" is invaluable. Most party leaders recognize the potential value of an effective club to the party organization, but occasionally one may view the organization of a club with indifference, if not hostility. Such opposition generally stems from a fear that a party club may threaten existing party leadership. Sometimes the combination of no club and leadership opposition to forming one may be evidence of a real need for a club.

   Lack of co-operation by the party leadership should not be allowed to prevent organization of a club. Continuing efforts should be made, however, to sell the club and its value to the party after it has been organized.

In summary, the third way for the average citizen to enter politics is by working in a political club. The political club is especially suitable for a beginner, because (1) clubs are active all year round; (2) they are open to both adults and young people and are very easy to join; (3) they provide a place to learn and develop skills.

Political clubs have existed since ancient Athens. In America, the heavy immigration of the nineteenth century spurred their development.

The present-day political club has four principal functions: (1) keeping party workers together all through the year; (2) enlisting new party workers; (3) supplying volunteers to the party; (3) providing a political training ground.

There is sometimes friction between the club and the party organization which can be minimized. Opposition to the regular party leadership may develop in a club. There are times when this opposition is justified and times when it is not. Unity is desirable, because if there is too much friction, the party is likely to lose public confidence and elections.

Joining a club means working with many kinds of people and learning how the professional politicians think. There are opportunities to present ideas, to become involved in programs beneficial to both club and party, to develop knowledge and skills, and to form long-lasting friendships.

CASE PROBLEM 6

The Primary that Nobody Won

Bob Hall wanted to become active in his political party. He volunteered his services to Harry Scott, the precinct leader in his neighborhood. Scott was cordial, but gave Hall no encouragement. Hall even got the impression that Scott was trying to talk him out of his interest.

Hall then went to party headquarters. After being passed from one person to another, he was finally asked to "fill out a card" and told that the party would get in touch with him when he was needed.

No word ever came from headquarters. It seemed to Hall that the people in politics were actually discouraging interested individuals like himself.

Some of his friends, who were also interested in politics, felt so, too. Together they decided that the only way left for them to become active in politics was to join a political club. Since there were no political clubs in town, Hall and five friends started one of their own. Within a year it had 50 members and Hall was president.

Andrew Jeffries, the party leader in the town, gave no indication of interest in Hall and his club. Hall, on his part, made no effort to work with Jeffries.

Later, events actually brought them into contention. The club felt that the man the party wanted to nominate for Councilman in the upcoming election wasn't a good choice. Hall organized the club for action and backed Clarence Jones for the party's nomination in the primary election.

Jones was a wealthy civic leader who had retired from business at the age of 50 and felt he could make a contribution to the community as a Councilman. Fortunately, he could carry most of the burden of campaign finances himself. The job for Hall and his club, as they saw it, was mainly that of getting out enough votes to get Jones nominated. Once nominated, Jones could ride to victory in the general election on the party ticket, because the party was dominant in the town.

The club worked hard. Jones won the nomination for Councilman against the primary candidate sponsored by Jeffries and the party organization. Later Jeffries was said to have resented this victory by a group he called "insurgents."

In the general election campaign, the club admittedly slacked off a little in their work. They assumed that Jones would ride along with other candidates on the party ticket.

Jones was the only man on the party ticket to lose the election.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What happened in this case?
2. Why do you think Scott and Jeffries treated Hall the way they did?
3. Was it a mistake for the club to back Jones for the nomination? Explain.
4. What comments can you make on the club's assumption that their main job was that of getting out enough votes to get Jones nominated?
5. In terms of good political principles, what constructive criticism can you make of the club and of the party leader?
6. Assuming that organizing a club was the best method of getting into politics in the face of opposition, what steps could the club have taken from the time of its organization to work out for itself a position of political effectiveness within the party?
7. How might the club have developed better relations with the party leader?

In summary:

8. What advantages do you see in a political club?
9. What are the possible pitfalls for a political club?
10. In your community, could this same kind of thing happen? Explain. How receptive are your local party leaders to new volunteers?

5

The Political Leader's Problems

Both political parties are in constant need of capable leaders on all levels. Here are some of the qualities you need to be an effective political leader: You've got to have patience and determination, because successful political action is the result of day to day work throughout the year; you must have courage to fight for your convictions within your party; you may have to accept occasional defeats, but you must have the foresight to look beyond the immediate election and measure candidates and policies by future problems; and, needless to say, you've got to like people — a good politician is a good neighbor; last, you must get new members for your party from among your friends and neighbors.

Richard M. Nixon

A political leader has two basic problems. The first is to build an effective organization that can win elections. The second problem is to keep the organization unified.

A successful political leader must solve both problems. An organization may be qualified, but so small and weak it cannot win elections. Neither can a large organization of highly capable people expect to beat the opposition if it wastes its energies in fighting within its own ranks.

These two major problems are composed of many smaller problems, such as finding and training party workers, handling patronage, selecting candidates, and financing the organization. The political leader who successfully handles the many day-to-day problems that confront him will generally find that the larger problems have been solved in the process.

The Political Leader

A political leader is the person to whom the members of a political party have delegated responsibility for directing its affairs.

Political leaders exist at every level of the party organization. In this book, however, the term is applied to a county central committee chairman, a city leader, a town leader, a ward chairman, or the like. In some areas, these political leaders are referred to as chairmen. In other areas, they are called presidents. They were once referred to as "political bosses."

Individuals may take over political leadership, be elected, or be appointed. The power of the leader may be derived from a constitution, by-laws, rules, unwritten agreements, or traditions. Basically, however, the leader keeps his leadership and derives his authority from the loyalty of those who support him. He retains this loyalty and withstands challenges to his leadership principally by his ability to outthink and outperform his followers and potential rivals.

The *real* political leader may or may not hold a public office. He may not even have a title in the political party, being rather a private citizen with no *official* position. Where the real leader has no official position, it is necessary for him to work through the officially designated party leader. For purposes of simplification, therefore, this chapter describes the problems of the political leader in terms of the officially designated party leader.

Functions of the Political Leader

The political leader is responsible for all planning and decision-making in the area of his political activity — local, state, or national. He must maintain a good name for his party in the community. He is expected to have a good vote-producing record — and the next higher leader rates him on his ability to perform thus.

He must handle patronage and advise his party's officeholders on political matters within his area. He must build an organization of precinct leaders and train them to sell the party and its candidates. He rates his subordinates, rewards good performance in whatever way he can, and, if necessary, as tactfully as possible gets rid of "dead wood."

His judgment is most important in selecting candidates for public office — the representatives of the party in the eyes of the voters. A party is judged largely on the quality of its candidates.

He must obtain financial support for campaigns and for maintaining his organization.

In short, he has large responsibilities; the limitations on his freedom of action are considerable; and — like most of his workers — he is an unpaid volunteer.

Recruiting and Training Workers

Sources of Political Workers

The political leader knows many sources of political talent; for example, clubs, women's groups, young people's groups. As a rule, people who stand out as organizers in any community activity, such as charity drives, church work, service clubs, and veterans' groups, are good potential material for political assignments.

Before approaching anyone who is already active in politics to join his "team," the leader will check with the top person in the organization from which he is recruiting. This is for several reasons:

It is common courtesy.
He would be considered politically inadequate if he did not.
He might be accused of "pirating."
He might receive valuable information about the person he is considering.

Political workers, like workers in other fields, should be selected on the basis of the job to be filled. General classifications of duties include precinct work, headquarters operation, and campaign management.

Checking References

Public officials and other political leaders may furnish helpful information about an individual who is being considered for political work. Co-workers can indicate whether the person is well-liked. People who can't get along with others are poor risks in politics, no matter how talented they are.

Testing

In politics, people are generally assigned to less-demanding jobs before being moved on to great responsibilities. This procedure is not prompted by doubts about an individual's ability; it springs from the need for the worker's learning political behavior step by step.

Moreover, because voluntary workers receive no money for the work they do, their rewards for good work may take the form of impressive titles and increased responsibilities. Workers with long and faithful service may resent the promotion of a newcomer to a higher position.

Rating the Workers

Both during the testing period and later, a successful leader finds it necessary to rate his workers, particularly precinct leaders. The leader uses different methods of evaluating performance in different jobs.

Headquarters workers are not difficult to rate. The leader can observe which ones carry out their assignments. Shirkers become the subject of conversation, and the leader hears it. Those who do an outstanding job in publicity, research, finance, or any of the other campaign operations are almost automatically brought to the leader's attention by their performance.

Evaluating the work of political club members may be more difficult, because they are not so close to the leader. But when a political club performs an unusually effective project, the leader will learn about it. He can find out who is responsible for the project. On request, he also can receive reports from the club president or from his other club contacts.

Precinct leaders are rated very carefully. Many political leaders keep detailed records over a period of years of the vote in every election, precinct by precinct, to help them evaluate the precinct leaders.

Manning the Precincts

Selecting the right people to man the precincts is critical, because elections are won in the precincts. Unless the party has every precinct adequately manned, it cannot turn out its core of party voters. Experienced leaders have found that two types of precincts cause the most difficulty — the high-income precinct and the low-income precinct.

High-income precincts. In the high-income precincts, the residents are usually successful business and professional people. They are busy, have responsible jobs, and are accustomed to working with a staff that handles details.

Such people generally prefer to serve the party with their checkbooks, if at all. They will not become active in precinct work unless they thoroughly understand its importance. When they do become active, however, they generally make excellent precinct leaders. The intelligence, skill, education, and ability responsible for their high incomes also makes them effective in precinct work. Frequently, much of the precinct work in high-income areas is done by women.

Low-income precincts. The problem of obtaining good precinct leaders in low-income precincts is entirely different, but just as difficult to solve.

A major problem of people with low incomes is to find a way to increase their incomes. Therefore, they often feel that they can't afford to devote time to nonpaying jobs. Sometimes party leaders try to find a non-civil-service government job for a good precinct leader. Sometimes they can persuade a local businessman to hire a precinct leader in a suitable capacity.

Years ago, the big city machines had little trouble finding precinct leaders in low-income areas. The leader had at his disposal a wealth of city jobs and jobs with contractors who had city contracts. For those who could not be given jobs, political clubs served as welfare centers, distributing Christmas baskets and help of all kinds in return for votes and workers. In addition, politics was considered a ladder to higher income and better things.

Today, fewer political jobs are available, and capable persons can forge ahead more readily in other fields than was formerly true. But in all areas — high-income low-income, or medium-income — the major handicap in finding good precinct leaders is indifference, lack of interest, the feeling that politics is someone else's business. People who work hard on many other types of community projects are difficult to convince that politics is just as important.

Perhaps that is why a party leader is a *leader* in the true sense of the term. Real leadership ability is required to find and inspire people who will do the precinct work necessary to win elections.

Patronage

Handling patronage is one of the political leader's biggest problems, although less patronage is available today than a few years ago.

Patronage is generally misunderstood by the average citizen as rewarding incompetent party hacks with safe political jobs. There is, of course, some of this in politics, just as there is occasionally an incompetent son-in-law or an irresponsible uncle on the payroll of a family-owned business.

Patronage is a political fact of life. It is important to understand its use in building and maintaining an effective party organization — and in running a successful governmental administration. F. Clifton White, of Public Affairs Counsellors, Inc., has classified patronage into three basic types: job patronage, contract patronage, and psychological patronage.

Job Patronage

The first function of job patronage is to put persons into government positions who are in harmony with administration policies. Ed Flynn explains it this way:

> I cannot resist one last observation on the "spoils system"—because there is something about the clamor against it that puzzles me, and always has. There is a fight for control of a corporation. A group of stockholders is dissatisfied with the management. A battle of proxies takes place, and the group in opposition to the management succeeds in controlling the voting stock. They vote the stock. Do they leave their defeated enemies in control? If they did, they would have wasted the effort to wrest control from them in the first place. No, they throw the losers out. What puzzles me is this: why does something that in business circles is called plain common sense become something sinister called the "spoils system" when applied to the biggest business in the land—government? [1]

Voters select the political administration of their choice by voting for the candidates of one party or the other. But if that administration cannot fill policy positions in the government with people who are sympathetic to its views, the will of the electorate is thwarted. For example, some political scientists have suggested that President Eisenhower's administration was hampered because so few policy-making jobs on the second, third, and fourth levels were available for political appointments of persons in sympathy with Eisenhower's policies. The Eisenhower administration, on taking office, found it was legally entitled to appoint approximately .02 percent of all Federal jobs. As a result, a number of positions were moved from civil service restrictions to an "open" classification, which did provide for more political patronage.

Political scientists have expressed a belief that so few political appointments might prevent an incoming party from effectively gaining control of the executive branch and carrying out the mandate of the voters. The Hoover Commission, appointed to suggest ways of improving government efficiency, recommended that at least 5000 top positions should be exempt from civil service in order to give the President control of the executive branch.

---

[1] Flynn, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Job patronage is also used to provide a source of income to effective party workers whose political responsibility makes heavy demands on their time. Certain non-civil-service public offices, principally on state, county, and local levels, will provide such people with income, a somewhat flexible arrangement of working hours, and an office, such as that of the chief clerk, at the county courthouse or the city hall where they are available for political as well as business purposes. Such jobholders are often people of real ability who can give the taxpayer his money's worth under these circumstances and at the same time handle party responsibilities. Of course, in some cases these jobs are out-and-out sinecures, too.

There are also many jobs of a minor nature paying small salaries that are available as job patronage.

Contract Patronage

Most government business is done on a bid basis. There are, however, some areas of discretion. Many politicians believe it makes sense to give business to people who do not overcharge for goods or services and give good value — and who support the party.

Psychological Patronage

Because a political leader can generally do little to reward effective service, he often relies on psychological patronage — which could also be called prestige patronage or simply *recognition.*

Seating a few workers on the platform with VIP speakers at a rally, creating a job or title in the political organization for a valued helper, giving testimonials at various kinds of public meetings, presenting autographed pictures of high officials are examples of psychological patronage. Occasionally there is also the possibility of appointment to special temporary advisory boards of local governments on a nonsalaried basis.

Patronage Poses Problems

Patronage is a two-edged sword for the political leader.

It can be used as an incentive to party workers. It also can be used to provide them with an income, thus enabling them to devote time to politics.

On the other hand, since patronage is limited, it can create dissension and ill will among those who do not share in it, or who think they are entitled to more recognition than they are receiving.

Some political leaders claim that it is possible to build and maintain an excellent organization without dispensing any patronage. Where this is possible, it relieves the leader of the difficult job of continually seeking patronage for his followers and trying to satisfy those who must be refused it.

Most political leaders believe, however, that patronage is a useful tool in building their organizations. As Raymond E. Baldwin, former Governor of Connecticut and United States Senator, says:

> Like all phases of political life, patronage can be misused; but it can also be intelligently used to improve the working of our Republic.[1]

Financing

The operations of political parties must be financed. This involves raising money and spending it to maximum advantage.

Most people think of political contributions in terms of campaigns. Political leaders know that the campaign requires the greatest concentrated effort, but it is the work done on a year-round basis that lays the foundation for successful campaigns.

"A dollar in the spring is worth two in October" is an old political saying.

Sources of Money

Methods of political financing have changed drastically since the turn of the century. For many years, the two principal sources of funds were regular contributions by political jobholders and large contributions from wealthy individuals. Civil service programs and the progressive income tax, however, have materially curtailed the amount of money that can be raised from these two sources.

---

[1] Raymond E. Baldwin, *Let's Go Into Politics.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952, p. 133.

James C. Worthy, Chairman of the United Republican Fund of Illinois, explains:

> Traditionally both major political parties have depended on the relatively well to do for a large part of their financial support. These were men and women of fairly substantial means who were always interested in their party and who, at campaign time, were always generous and always ready to rise to an emergency.
>
> Unfortunately the carefully compiled lists of such contributors kept by both Republican and Democratic finance chairmen, are being heavily eroded by time. The average of their years advances. Many have died; others have retired at reduced incomes. And these steady old dependables are not being replaced.
>
> They are not being replaced because the pattern of taxation means that more and more people are dependent on their salaries and cannot afford large political contributions. To mention but one example, the present head of one large Illinois corporation is now contributing only $100 a year to the Republican party. His predecessor was a regular $5000-a-year contributor.[1]

Generally, elective and appointive officeholders are still expected to contribute to their party, and some wealthy people and labor unions make substantial contributions. Additional sums must be obtained with a broadly based appeal. There are several techniques being used by political leaders to meet the continuing and difficult challenge of raising money.

Mail solicitation. A letter appealing for money and enclosing a return envelope may be sent either to a selected list or to all declared party members. Mail solicitations are seldom very effective — partly because local party officials may not be skilled in writing effective sales letters.

House-to-house canvass. This method — which is excellent in theory — requires the organization of a house-to-house canvass by precinct leaders and their helpers during a stated period. The assistance of local news media in publicizing the drive can help to promote public acceptance. Nationwide activities of the Advertising Council and the American Heritage Foundation have helped to create public awareness of the importance of political contributions.

---

[1] *From* POLITICS U. S. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144.

Few political leaders have seriously tried to undertake a house-to-house canvass for political funds. Many precinct leaders are not enthusiastic about such an idea, because it requires another full-scale operation in addition to their registration and get-out-the-vote drives. Nevertheless, when properly used it has proved to be effective.

Money-raising dinners. This technique, described in Chapter 6, is one of the principal methods currently in use for raising political funds.

"Century Clubs." Good-quality, well-designed lapel buttons bearing the inscription "Century Club" are distributed to members of the party finance committee. When the lapel button attracts the attention of his friends and business associates, the committee member explains that they, too, can become members of the "club" by contributing a "century note" to the party. He then collects $100 in exchange for the button.

The names of the "club" and the amount of qualifying contribution vary from place to place.

Dues-style contributions. The "century club" idea and the full-scale canvass are sometimes combined. All party members are solicited on a regular annual basis for their party "dues." In return for their contributions, they receive a card certifying that they are regular party members or are presented with a button similar to the one used in the "century clubs."

Social events. Similar to money-raising dinners are other types of social events, such as covered-dish suppers, dances, clambakes, and outings for which the price of tickets is set high enough to provide a margin of profit. Often a "raffle" may be conducted in connection with the affair in areas where raffles are legal.

Finance Committee

Generally, the party leader gives the money-raising assignment to a finance committee. To serve on this committee, he usually selects successful citizens who are well known as community leaders, because such people inspire confidence among potential givers.

United Financing Method

State, county, and local party committees, individual candidates, and auxiliary "Citizens for Whoosit" organizations may all sponsor money-raising drives in the same campaign. As a result, individuals may be solicited several times, and candidates and leaders at different levels may accuse one another of encroaching on their source of funds.

To alleviate such causes of friction, united financing plans have developed in some areas. These plans operate in about the same way as a Community Chest — one contribution for all groups. Following the fund-raising drive, the money is allocated as agreed upon by the participating organizations and candidates.

United financing is not easy to operate successfully, but in some cases it can ease friction.

Publicity

The publicity, or public information, program may be defined as any activity designed to inform the public and the party workers about the party's officeholders, candidates, and achievements. Publicity about the organization or the party leader is not generally considered desirable or helpful.

Although the publicity program reaches its peak during campaigns, the off-season, day-by-day publicity is regarded by many experts as most important. They reason that voters tend to discount news made by a candidate during a campaign on the grounds that he is seeking office. At other times, however, he may be regarded by the voters as a responsible public official doing or saying something significant.

The more the officeholder or potential candidate is put before the public in noncontroversial, nonself-seeking terms, the more he builds a reputation with the voters as an active, conscientious public figure. A candidate (or a party administration) that keeps publicity fences mended prior to a campaign is much harder to beat than one that has neglected them.

Purpose of Publicity

Publicity is a means to an end. First consideration, therefore, must be given to the goal to be attained. Publicity can be used to:

1. Attract people to a meeting or a political event.
2. Give recognition to people who have worked effectively for the party.
3. Aid in electing a candidate.
4. Build party membership.
5. Help to establish a favorable reputation for the organization and party.
6. Arouse public opinion on an issue.

How to Get Publicity

The best publicity is obtained by making news. There are many ways to make news. For example, names make news; events make news. Publicity can result from statements that attack the weakness of the political opposition or capitalize on and tie in with news stories of the day. Good photographs with human-interest qualities are helpful.

Among the many activities that can be publicized are:

Fund-raising banquets
Club meetings
Special awards to deserving workers
Election or appointment of new officers
Political rallies
Arrival of officeholders in area
Departure of officeholders from area
Special workshops
Contests
Significant days (Lincoln or Jefferson birthday celebrations, etc.)
Dedication ceremonies
Conferences with top leaders in important places
Conventions
Nominations

Publicity Is Not Left to Chance

Leaders know that political publicity has become a specialized form of communication. It can no longer be done haphazardly or left to chance. In developing their publicity program, they first look within their organization for someone who is genuinely talented and experienced in this field. People with newspaper, public relations, and writing experience may be persuaded to help.

A political leader develops personal contacts with the local newspaper editors, radio and television commentators, and others in the communications field. Usually this isn't difficult. Editors and commentators know that political leaders are useful sources of information.

The Leader and the Candidates

The overriding objective of the political organization is to win elections. The political leader is vitally concerned in the selection of his party's candidates and recognizes the importance of a friendly, close relationship with them after their nomination and election.

Selecting Candidates

Through experience, a political leader develops a "feel" for determining the qualities that characterize good candidates. These qualities are not easy to identify or classify. However, some basic points are generally considered in candidate selection. They include the personal background of the candidate, his achievements, his personal traits and characteristics, and the way he will fit into the over-all ticket.

Personal background. The candidate's personal background customarily is checked for such things as police records, credit rating, business or professional reputation, moral character, family relationships (sometimes a divorce is considered a liability), alcoholism, and so forth. Ferreting out such intimate details prior to selection is an unpleasant task, but it is even less pleasant to have the political opposition discover — and publicize — information that will hurt the candidate during the campaign. In politics, it is necessary to assume that anything detrimental will be found out and exploited by the opposition.

Personal achievement. It is not always enough for a candidate to have led a clean, honest life. There must also be a record of accomplishment in some field — civic affairs, military service, business, and the like. The achievement necessary varies with the stature of the office the candidate is seeking. For example, the electorate may demand a more impressive record of achievement by a candidate for a state office than by a candidate for a county office.

Other personal characteristics. It is important that the candidate have an attractive "personality." A man who has a warm, friendly, outgoing personality will invariably make a better candidate than one who is colorless. It helps, too, if the candidate makes a good appearance. Courage and stamina are also essential.

Balancing the ticket. In some areas, it is necessary to take geographic, religious, ethnic, and social considerations into account in selecting candidates. Often it isn't good politics, for example, to nominate a ticket on which all the candidates have the same religious or ethnic background or come from the same geographical area. Such a ticket might make voters in other groups or areas feel that they are not being represented.

Competence. Today's society is so complex, specialized, and interdependent that the qualifications of a candidate for handling the position he seeks should be of paramount consideration. Political leaders are not likely to find candidates who measure up in all respects to their rigid requirements. In addition, personal likes and dislikes may color the selection. However, the more objective and impersonal political leaders can be in selecting their candidates, the better chance they have of electing topflight people to office.

Relations with the Candidate

Political leaders must maintain a close relationship with candidates both during the campaign and after they are elected.

Because he is responsible for managing his party's affairs, the political leader has a sincere interest in guiding candidates and providing the help that his experience enables him to supply. If candidates who do not have the "know-how" of the political leader have confidence in him and trust his advice, it is advantageous both for the candidates and for the party. When candidates begin to "believe their press clippings" and develop exaggerated ideas of their own importance, it makes the leader's task particularly difficult.

The leader and the officeholder. After the candidate has assumed office, the leader has a continuing responsibility to advise him. The leader must make his views known and understood, because he is responsible for getting the party ticket elected at the next election and because the party's success at the polls depends in large measure on the performance of its officeholders.

At the same time, the voters have elected the officeholder, not the leader. The leader cannot tell the officeholder how to do his job. He must offer appropriate advice, remembering always that the final decision lies with the officeholder.

Issues arise in the course of an administration where the right long-range decision may appear to be a short-run political liability. Sometimes the decision is reached on the basis of political expediency. However, political leaders may frequently advise their administration to take a longer view and accept the political liabilities as merely an additional hurdle to be cleared at the next election.

The political leader may offer advice on the administration's program. Some elected officials regard their jobs as primarily "housekeeping" ones. The political leader, being close to the voters, is in an excellent position to offer advice on the formulation of a forward-looking program that offers new, constructive solutions to people's problems and captures their imaginations.

Civic responsibility. Tremendous pressures for adopting unrealistic programs that may appeal to only a few voters and for setting up programs designed primarily to provide jobs for the party faithful continually beset political leaders. It requires good judgment to know where to draw the line and courage to hold it.

Political power carries with it responsibility. A wise leader recognizes his responsibilities to his community and his nation as well as to his party and candidates.

CASE PROBLEM 7

The Two-Year Plan

Arthur McCabe is the chairman or leader of his political party in the town of Hackendale, population about 23,000. His party has just suffered a complete defeat at the polls in a municipal election. In the larger picture, his party also lost the incumbent Congressman, the state senator, and the United States Senator. The Governor, also of McCabe's party, was not up for election, or he might have gone down, too.

ELECTION STATISTICS[1]

	McCabe Party	*Opposition*	*Total*
Vote	3880	4743	8623
% of Vote	45%	55%	100%
Eligible Voters (estimated)	5750	7140	14,375
Registered Voters	4488	5374	11,081
% of Registered Voters	40.5%	48.5%	89%

Everybody had different explanations for the defeat. Conservatives said the party was too liberal; the liberals said it was too conservative. Some said the candidates were no good. Reasons ranged from Washington policies to Hackendale garbage collection.

---

[1] Reading horizontally, the first, second, and fifth lines total accurately, but the third and fourth do not. The reason is that "eligible voters" and "registered voters" include unaffiliated voters, whereas in the election only McCabe's party and the opposition were on the ballot, so these people had to vote for one or the other.

Whatever the *real* reasons, McCabe was in danger of losing his party leadership unless he could demonstrate in the very near future some professional planning that would put his party back into office two years later. As a sincere and dedicated politician, he frankly wanted to keep leadership in the hands of an experienced "pro"; namely, Art McCabe.

Here are some of the areas in which McCabe thought it necessary to do something and some of the facts in each area that he took into consideration in his planning (see chart above).

McCabe knows from experience that about 75 percent of the registered voters in his area actually vote. Maximum effort is always put into the attempt to get 100 percent, but the percentage stays [illegible]ively constant. However, he figures that among the unreg[illegible]d but eligible voters he might have about 1260 more voters o[illegible] party's persuasion.

Organization. McCabe has 18 precincts in his town, with two precinct leaders authorized in each. He classifies his precincts into four groups according to their section of town: six precincts are in relatively low-income areas; four precincts are in a newly built-up section occupied by middle-income people; six precincts are in an older section of town which could be classed as a middle-income area; and two precincts are populated by relatively high-income families. He makes two tables according to this breakdown, classifying his precinct leaders first according to performance, second as to whether he could rely on their support to keep his leadership of the town committee (see page 143).

McCabe has two potential rivals, both very able precinct leaders, both ambitious. Peter Moore from the "middle-income-older" area is a young lawyer who wants to get ahead. McCabe thinks he is likely to bite off more than he can chew. Moore would like to run for office or be appointed to a job where he could get valuable experience.

George Meighan, in the "high-income" area, is in his fifties, successful, has turned over most of his business to his son, and would like to get into a political position where he could make his weight felt. He is very able, but not yet attuned to the ways of politics nor experienced in the field.

There is one political club in McCabe's party organization, a women's club.

PRECINCT LEADER PERFORMANCE

Performance	*Low Income*	*Middle Income New Section*	*Middle Income Older Section*	*High Income*	**Total**
Good	4	4	9	1	18
Fair	6	2	2	—	10
Poor	2	—	—	2	4
Vacancy	—	(2)	(1)	(1)	(4)
Total	12 (2 women)	6 (4 women)	11 (7 women)	3 (2 women)	32

PRECINCT LEADER LOYALTY TO MCCABE

Reliability	*Low Income*	*Middle Income New Section*	*Middle Income Older Section*	*High Income*	**Total**
Reliable	9	2	4	1	16
Unreliable	3	4	6	1	14
Potential Rivals	—	—	1	1	2
Total	12	6	11	3	32

Finance. McCabe's town committee is in debt $1500. His finance chairman of the campaign had been a poor choice — McCabe's fault. Fortunately, the chairman had indicated that one campaign was enough, and McCabe is free to recruit another without embarrassment.

He has two possible choices for finance work. One is Joe Clark, a hustling, likable young salesman — going up fast, but without good connections. McCabe thinks Joe has in mind getting acquainted with successful men through the finance work and using the assignment as a showcase to demonstrate his ability. If so, he would have strong motivation to do a really good job.

The other choice, Harry Thompson, is a man in his sixties, highly successful, still active in his accounting firm, and well established in the community. He has been a regular contributor and solicitor of funds for ten years. He has never tried to use his ability to raise money as a wedge to obtain anything and has always been available to help out when needed. He has two drawbacks: he is not a politician, and he is not a good organizer or leader. As so many politicians do, McCabe wonders what Thompson wants. He doubts that Thompson will work hard indefinitely without some substantial recognition.

Candidates. McCabe sees two problems in relation to choosing candidates. The first problem is the usual one of finding good men to run for local office. The second is to decide what higher office on a county, state, or national level he might try to get for a Hackendale man.

Local office. In the city, McCabe needs one candidate for Mayor and one for Councilman. He has two possible candidates for a seat on the City Council. His potential rival, Peter Moore, is one. Moore, among other things, is a member of the Wildlife Conservation Society. He is also a good candidate type and capable of doing a good job in public office. Moore has political savvy and is conservative on most political issues.

The other possibility for the City Council is Milton Santangelo. He is the successful owner of a hardware store, highly respected in his area. Although successful, he has not moved out of his old neighborhood near the railroad station. Santangelo is active in the Elks, his church, and the Garibaldi Club. Forty-five years old, Santangelo played halfback on the local high school football team 28 years ago and has an engineering degree from State College.

McCabe also has in mind two possible candidates for Mayor. Either would be acceptable for Councilman, too. One is George Heath, past president of the chamber of commerce. While chairman of the civic affairs committee of the chamber, Heath was very effective in bringing about a complete property reassessment and also in finding a partial solution to the downtown parking problem. The first accomplishment left some scars, but the second was popular. The qualities that helped him become chamber president also make him a good candidate for Mayor. His record shows courage, ability, and effectiveness.

The other possibility for Mayor is James Goldsmith. A lawyer, Goldsmith is somewhat liberal and an internationalist in his views. He has served on a state bar association committee and is well known for defending difficult cases and the indigent. Several years earlier, he formed a civic association which financed the erection of a public swimming pool with a combination of town funds and private subscriptions. A good trial lawyer, he can perform creditably on a speaking platform. Goldsmith served one term on the town council several years ago and acquitted himself very well. He is popular almost everywhere in town.

Higher office. McCabe decides that, of all the possible offices, he would prefer to have a Hackendale man in the United States House of Representatives to replace the newly elected incumbent from the opposition party. The seat normally has been held by a man of McCabe's party; the recent election was an upset. There is no chance that the defeated incumbent will be considered to run again.

The congressional district covers six counties. This means that McCabe must have the backing of his county leader and the leaders of two or three other counties to sew up the nomination for his man.

However, the congressional seat is not considered a great plum by political leaders in McCabe's area, because a Congressman has very little patronage to dispense. Also, since unwritten rules preclude the defeated incumbent's county from running another man for the seat again, and since one other county has a man for the state senate seat, McCabe figures that these two counties are at least not contenders — at best, possible supporters for his man. The state senator spot was filled by one of McCabe's men from Hackendale before he was beaten. There are three counties in the state senatorial district, all of them within the congressional district.

McCabe has two possible congressional candidates, both of whom would be rated as conservatives on national issues.

George Kirkpatrick is the 32-year-old secretary to the defeated incumbent. He is a natural candidate and has a very compelling manner. An articulate expert on national issues and a formidable speaker, he has been active in civic affairs. Kirkpatrick is very well known in the district through his campaigning for his former boss and through other party activities. In addition to the fact that he is a good candidate type, McCabe is drawn to Kirkpatrick for two reasons:

1. He believes a strong candidate like this young man would pull the whole ticket along to some extent in a presidential year when national issues would be prominent in the campaign.
2. A young man could stay in Congress a long time and acquire valuable seniority. An older man would be likely to retire before earning much seniority.

Bill Keeney, the other possible candidate for the congressional seat, is a successful man in his early sixties who would like to run. He has substantial friends in business, industry, and the professions. As a candidate, the man lacks experience and would have to be coached on issues. A passable speaker, Keeney maintains a good appearance and a dignified manner. If McCabe gets this man the nomination, he is certain his financial problems would be close to being solved. He also feels, however, that the ticket would have to carry the candidate to some extent.

Issues. Public interest in "business climate" and in the need for new industry in town is building up as a result of work by the chamber of commerce. A plan has been proposed to fill in some marshland on the edge of town and use the new land for industrial sites. The Wildlife Conservation Society, a vocal and active civic group, is fighting the proposed plan because it would drive away certain unusual birds.

Schools are quite adequate, but a look at long-term population growth and physical depreciation indicates that provision for expanding the schools in the near future is desirable. A liberal-conservative split is a problem in both parties. A women's civic group, a church group, and a local union are vocal on national and state welfare issues.

Patronage. In evaluating his position, McCabe lists the things he might want and assesses his bargaining position to get them. The following are things he might want:

1. Congressional nomination
2. Delegate to the national convention
3. County clerk nomination; it is generally conceded at county headquarters that Hackendale is entitled at the next election to name the man for this post
4. Support of his county leader in bargaining for Congressman and convention delegate

The following are things McCabe can offer to get the things he might want:

1. Can give up a claim to the state senate seat which has been held by a Hackendale man
2. Can give up the county clerk spot to which he has a claim
3. Has close relationship with the Governor's patronage man, who can help him get some state jobs
4. Contingent on getting the backing of his own county leader, can give support to the county wanting the state senate seat and to another county wanting help on some legislation in the state capital

McCabe intensely dislikes using patronage to build his organization, preferring to rely on public recognition, participation, and a good program of work to develop his people and hold them together. However, he knows that somebody is going to get top positions, and he would prefer, wherever possible, to bargain able men from Hackendale into these spots rather than to concede them to other leaders who might be less exacting in their judgment on who can fill the jobs capably.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Election Statistics

What interpretations can we make of McCabe's election statistics as background for discussing his problem areas?

Organization

What problems do you think McCabe saw in the tables titled "Precinct Leader Performance" and "Precinct Leader Loyalty"?

Finance

1. What problems do you see in this information?
2. Thinking of McCabe's "two-year plan," what distinction do you make between his immediate and long-range money problems?

Candidates

1. City Council and Mayor: What are the advantages and disadvantages of each of the four candidates?
2. Congressional race:
   - **(a)** What immediate advantages do you see in Kirkpatrick as a candidate for Congress?
   - **(b)** What immediate advantages do you see in Keeney as a candidate for Congress?
   - **(c)** What possible disadvantages do you see in Kirkpatrick? in Keeney?

Issues

To the extent that issues may help McCabe's party to win the next election:

1. Who might be the "savables" and what issue or issues can McCabe stress to win them over?
2. What issues are likely to have an unfavorable impact, and what can he do to lessen damage from them?
3. What issue or issues must he remain vulnerable on and take his chances?
4. What issue or issues can help in:
   - **(a)** Recruiting workers?
   - **(b)** Improving finances?

Patronage

If McCabe can get the choice of delegate to the national convention, what kind of man will he be likely to select in terms of:

1. Party loyalty and service?
2. Considering this a "recognition" post?

Looking Back

1. What possible action does it now appear that McCabe might take in building up his organization and making his own leadership secure, thereby avoiding a primary fight with one of his two rivals for town leadership?
2. McCabe and his town committee control the nominations for Mayor, Councilman, and County Clerk. By trading, he hopes to be able to name the delegate to the national convention and the party's candidate for Congress. He also has certain state patronage possibilities. He can, with his county leader's support, help other counties with state legislation problems and back them in their trading for various nominations. Relinquishing the state senate seat gives his county a claim for other high office.

   Careful trading and selection of men for these nominations can be the key to solving, or partly solving, the problems of finance, issues, the leadership contest, balancing the ticket, and the needs of the community.

   Considered in this light, how might McCabe trade and fill positions to solve these problems?

   What problems are left unsolved by these trades and choices of candidates? How might they be solved?
3. A key factor in attracting money, workers, good candidates, and votes is making a party look as if it can win. In the next year and a half, what actions can McCabe take — other than making optimistic statements — to give the impression that his party will win?
4. In planning his timetable, when should McCabe consider doing each of the following?
   - **(a)** Soliciting large contributors?
   - **(b)** Holding a fund-raising dinner?
   - **(c)** Making a general appeal for funds?
   - **(d)** Starting to build up candidates?
   - **(e)** Announcing the names of candidates?
   - **(f)** Starting his candidates' primary campaign?
   - **(g)** Starting the election campaign?
   - **(h)** Starting to dicker to name the convention delegate and the congressional delegate?

6

Political Meetings

Most political action is group action. As you become active in politics, you can expect to participate in meetings of all types. Eventually, you may be in charge of arrangements for a meeting or may preside at a meeting. Good meetings do not just happen. They are the result of careful planning and attention to details.

It is important, therefore, that you be familiar with the types of political meetings and understand thoroughly the available tools and techniques that help to make meetings most effective. This chapter discusses types of political meetings and the varied aspects of planning and conducting them successfully, including the fundamentals of parliamentary procedure.

Planning Effective Meetings

An old political adage says, "Never be late to a meeting; they may be talking about you." A tremendous amount of politics is just that — talking. Some politicians insist that what people in politics say is often more important than what they do. And much of what they say — as well as much of what they do — takes place in meetings. Accordingly, the political success or failure of individuals, groups, and political parties depends in large measure on planning and conducting effective meetings.

"Is This Meeting Necessary?"

Some meetings are required by legal provisions, party rules, or organization by-laws. Some are called for other good reasons. But occasionally some meetings, especially planning or "creative" meetings, are called to solve problems that could be settled by a few phone conversations or by the decisions of one individual. An unnecessary meeting falls flat on its face, to the discomfort and chagrin of everyone who has wasted time attending it.

The Agenda

Even those meetings that are necessary or desirable must be carefully planned if they are to be successful. The chief tool of the meeting planner is the agenda — a list of items of business to be taken up and acted upon. Careful preparation of the agenda in advance helps to ensure that all matters to be brought before the meeting are considered. If important business is carelessly omitted at one meeting, another meeting may be required.

A well-ordered agenda is an important tool in moving a meeting along with ease and dispatch from one item of business to the next. It helps the chairman to "pace" the meeting to assure adjournment within a reasonable time. Reviewed at the beginning of a meeting or publicized in the meeting notice, it allows members to prepare for important discussions. A predetermined agenda is useful even in small, informal meetings.

Interesting Programs

Many meetings combine a business session with a program or omit business altogether, with a program as the principal attraction. Frequently, the program is the same at every meeting of an organization — a principal speaker and possibly a question-and-answer period.

Experienced program chairmen have learned that "showmanship" is vital in presenting successful programs and that varying types of format, selection of versatile moderators, and presentation of interesting speakers can work wonders in enhancing the appeal of programs in political meetings. Here are some variations used by imaginative program chairmen.

Panel discussion. In this format, one person acts as moderator, and members of a panel (generally from three to five people) discuss an important subject. The subject is carefully defined so that discussion can be kept within manageable bounds.

Panel members may be either "outside" experts or local persons; the most important thing is that they be knowledgeable on at least one phase of the subject under discussion.

Well in advance of the meeting, the moderator analyzes the points to be covered and assigns them to the individual panelists. The assignments are made so as to ensure that all relevant points will be brought out, that no one panelist will dominate, and that all phases of the subject will receive appropriate emphasis. Frequently a panel discussion is organized at a meeting of the participants a day or two before the program is to be presented.

The moderator is the key to a successful panel discussion. He shuts off long-winded panelists, keeps the discussion on the track, injects occasional humor, and makes sure that all major points are covered. He tries to keep the session within a reasonable time limit — perhaps an hour, including 15 to 20 minutes for questions from the audience.

The best moderators make sure that the panel discussion is brought to an effective conclusion. Sometimes they present a short summary of the discussion before they thank the panel members for participating; sometimes they ask each panelist to give a short summary of significant points. Occasionally a panel is concluded by taking a "straw vote" in the audience on carefully worded statements summarizing the discussion.

"Meet-the-Press" format. One expert or celebrity makes a five-to-ten-minute presentation; is then questioned by a panel of three or four persons for 20 minutes; and finally answers questions from the floor for 15 or 20 minutes.

The moderator has the same key function and problems in this type of program as in a panel discussion. Frequently participants meet before the program to decide on the main points to be covered in the discussion and to make sure that questions to be asked by the panel don't overlap, but do cover the subject.

The "Meet-the-Press" format has been found to be particularly helpful when a scheduled speaker is known to be somewhat uninspiring. A good panel and a good moderator enliven the program as the dull speaker alone could not do. Often a poor speaker who knows his subject thoroughly will be challenged by such a format and will give a performance that is otherwise unattainable.

Debate. Either organization members or "outsiders" may participate in a debate. Generally one or two persons speak for each side, because more speakers are likely to make a debate a long-winded affair.

As a rule, each side is allotted 10 minutes per speaker, with five minutes for rebuttal. The sides speak in turn, drawing lots to determine which speaker presents his arguments first. A good moderator is careful to call "time" on each speaker and to avoid any appearance of partiality.

Usually questions are allowed from the floor after a debate. Sometimes a "straw vote" is taken in the audience to determine which side it favors or which side it feels made the better presentation.

Movies. Movies on political subjects are available from the national headquarters of the two major parties and from other sources. The program chairman can obtain comprehensive listings of available films from several good film directories.

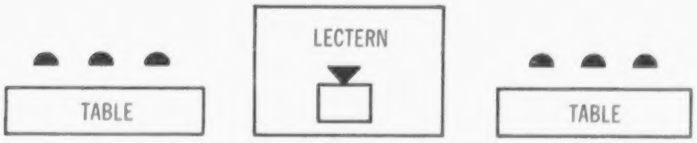
A careful program chairman arranges for projection equipment and an operator well in advance of the meeting. He also runs the film several days before it is to be shown to make sure that (1) it is the right film; (2) the contents will not be offensive to any members; and (3) the projection equipment is in good working order.

Participating in Meetings

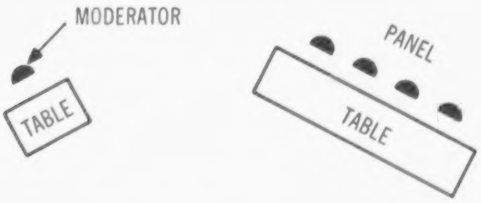
The newcomer to politics will quickly discover that the unwritten rules which prompt most freshman members of Congress to "say little and listen lots" are good criteria for his conduct.

This doesn't mean that a person who is extremely well informed on a technical or specialized subject under discussion at a political gathering should refrain from speaking because he is a newcomer. Information on such matters — plus carefully stated opinions — should be offered if the newcomer's expertness on the subject is well known or if there is an opportunity for him to state his qualifications.

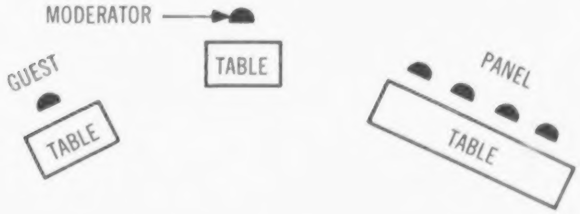
PLATFORM ARRANGEMENTS FOR THREE TYPES OF MEETINGS


LECTERN
TABLE
TABLE

Platform arrangement for debate with two speakers on each side. Two chairs nearest lectern are for moderator and timekeeper.


MODERATOR
PANEL
TABLE
TABLE

Platform arrangement for panel discussion. Tables should be slightly slanted so that panelists can see moderator easily and so that audience has clear view of all participants.


MODERATOR
GUEST
TABLE
PANEL
TABLE
TABLE

Platform arrangement for "Meet the Press" type program. Tables are slanted so that all participants and the audience have a clear view.

Generally speaking, however, the political neophyte is well advised to attend all meetings, but to keep quiet and to avoid taking sides on issues until he knows the factions or groups with which he wants to be identified. The length of time it takes before each newcomer is accepted as a member of the group will vary. But when that time arrives, the individual involved will sense it and will feel free to speak out more often.

Even after becoming a full-fledged member of his precinct organization, committee, or club, the newcomer should remember that his views, expressed at any meeting, are only contributions to the general knowledge and that the decision lies with the group. Insofar as possible, he should suppress any resentment and support the group's decision when his opinions are overruled.

Effective Follow-Through

The full value of any meeting designed to strengthen a political program or to achieve any political objective cannot be realized unless there is prompt and effective follow-through. At many meetings, specific assignments are made. It is imperative that these assignments be carried out and that someone be responsible for checking to see that they are carried out; otherwise the time and effort expended to plan and make the assignments will be wasted.

After every meeting, the chairman should make certain that he has taken whatever steps are needed to complete the necessary records and see that those records are transmitted to the proper party officials. He also should check with the secretary on what is to go into the minutes and furnish guidance on how actions of a controversial nature should be recorded. At meetings where news-worthy decisions are made, information concerning them should be made available to the press.

Everyone who is in any way responsible for the success of a meeting should be thanked for his or her contribution. Special thanks are in order to speakers, usually by means of a letter over the signature of the organization or club president.

If a record of attendance was kept, it should be retained for guidance in forming committees, conducting registration and vote drives, and promoting attendance at subsequent meetings.

Kinds of Meetings

Meetings differ in purpose and are held under various conditions. Every meeting of any size is conducted by some form of rules. Just as boxing matches are conducted by Marquis of Queensberry rules, some meetings are conducted generally by *Robert's Rules of Order.*[1] These rules are followed loosely in most meetings, but they are essential to the conduct of large meetings and meetings where there is likely to be factionalism or a sharp division of opinion.

Skilled use of parliamentary procedure ensures that a meeting will be conducted in an orderly fashion, that minority opinion may be expressed, and that the majority may be allowed to rule. Many people use the basic principles, but run their meetings quite informally.

The following pages briefly describe basic types of political meetings.

1. The Small, Unofficial Meeting

In business, a lodge, P.T.A., or politics, some of the most important decisions are made in the so-called "smoke-filled room" by leaders. They get together with other leaders in their club, committee, or area to make plans, resolve differences, and decide policy. At such meetings, club officers are decided upon, resolutions written, candidacies launched, or support of an important person is obtained for a project already afoot.

2. Precinct Workers' Meeting

Meetings for precinct workers are held for a variety of purposes: to plan registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns; to explain plans and procedures; or to present a training program on good telephone techniques, challenging opposition voters, handling official books at registration and polling places, and so on.

Such meetings are useful in giving workers a "team feeling."

---

[1] While *Robert's Rules of Order* is probably the most familiar parliamentary authority, there are other accepted and useful rules of order and helpful reference publications.

Telephoning and doorbell ringing are lonely jobs; occasionally workers meet with rebuffs. Knowing that others are doing the same kind of work may both hearten them and increase their sense of responsibility.

The meetings are called by the precinct leader. Invitations are usually extended by telephone. It is customary to conclude the meeting with refreshments and a social hour. This is important. Stop serving refreshments, and people may stop coming.

3. Training Meetings

Some training meetings are held for precinct workers by precinct leaders; but town, city, county, or other political organizations may also hold meetings designed to increase the knowledge and skills of workers. Training meetings are held on such subjects as:

1. Good telephone techniques
2. How to make successful personal calls on voters
3. Election law, for poll workers or headquarters legal committee
4. How to handle the procedures at the registration place or at the polls
5. The handling of details and procedure for a large public meetting, such as a rally, testimonial dinner, or big social event — making sure everybody knows his assignment, its importance, and how it fits into the over-all plan

4. Committee of a Larger Body

Much of the work of a town, city, or county political organization, a club, or even a legislative body may be done by committees. In the committee meetings, programs and projects are planned, research is done, resolutions are drafted, all for submittal to the parent body. Operating committees, such as publicity or membership, will also carry out plans after approval by the executive board or chairman of the parent body.

These committees may range in size from a few people to 15 or 20. They generally meet regularly at a private home or some other convenient place, such as a restaurant, campaign headquarters, or an office.

5. Preorganization Meeting of Political Club

This is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, pages 121-122.

6. Executive Committee of Formal Party Organization

Many state and national party committes and even some town, city, and county committees have an executive committee which meets to dispose of party business more often than the larger parent body. Executive committee meetings are particularly important where the parent body is large and unwieldy.

7. Caucuses

In a few states and a fairly large number of towns and villages, the party caucus is an official party meeting, recognized by state law, local ordinance, or party rules. The caucus has power to nominate or endorse a ticket, elect delegates to conventions at the next higher level, and conduct other party business.

The qualifications for attending a political caucus of this type are that the person attending must be (1) of voting age, (2) a member of the political party, and (3) a resident of the specific geographic area.

The geographic area from which a caucus draws its members may be a precinct, a municipality, or other specified local jurisdiction. Usually the time and place of a caucus are publicly announced through the newspapers or in other ways. A a rule, party leaders do not make great efforts to get out a large attendance at a caucus, as they prefer to have only party regulars on hand so that agreement is more easily reached.

Procedure is generally formal, using parliamentary rules. A written record is kept which may be filed with higher party councils and government officials and released to the news media.

The term *caucus* is widely used in a looser, broader sense to denote any political planning meetings, such as:

1. The so-called "smoke-filled-room" meeting
2. Meetings at which convention delegates *caucus* to decide which candidates to support
3. Meetings of many kinds recessing during a sharp debate so that leaders of factions may *caucus* to decide strategy, following which the original meeting will reconvene

8. Social Events

Often amateurs deride social meetings, saying, "What is this, a political organization or a social club?" The wise politician notes that all successful community organizations, such as churches and service clubs, find social events vital to their programs. Social events provide a sense of group feeling and identity and offer opportunities to members to become acquainted and to transact political business that can best be handled informally. Often social events raise small amounts of money.

As at almost all political meetings, local political leaders, officeholders, candidates, and visiting leaders *must* be publicly introduced. To omit this feature — or to skip an important person — is a cardinal political sin. It may even be taken as a personal affront and be the cause of long-standing enmity.

9. Official Party Committee Meetings

Ward, town, city, county, state, and national committees hold meetings to reach decisions on party business and to plan action programs. Party committees on the lower levels, for instance, may vote to endorse a slate of candidates in the party primary.

Official party committee meetings are conducted in whatever manner is most expeditious: small committee meetings usually are run informally, larger ones by parliamentary procedure.

10. Testimonial Dinners

Individuals whose performance in public or political office has won the respect of the public are often honored at testimonial dinners. Attendance generally is not difficult to promote unless the individual to be honored has not in reality endeared himself to many people. Most party workers and leaders attend testimonial dinners, partly to pay homage to the guest of honor, partly because everybody else will be there, and partly because their absence would be noted.

Usually the guest of honor is eulogized by some local orator who can mix praise with humor. An expensive gift, purchased from ticket sales, is customarily presented to the honored guest. The tickets are priced to cover the cost of the dinner and the gift.

11. Rallies

Rallies provide a major candidate or officeholder with an occasion to deliver an important address for publicity purposes. Often the address is carried on television and radio (paid for by the party). Rallies are also useful in motivating party workers. If handled properly, they generate enthusiasm for the candidate and the ticket. The enthusiasm with which the audience responds to the candidate is an important feature in making the show look impressive on television and sound well on radio.

Promotion. Promoting attendance is often a difficult, but essential, factor in planning and running a successful rally. The average voter is indifferent. He would rather stay at home and watch TV. It is the party workers and their friends and neighbors who fill the hall.

The first step in promoting a rally is favorable publicity in the news media, but this can't be depended upon to turn out a crowd. A large corps of workers is mobilized to promote attendance. Every precinct worker is assigned a certain quota of people to approach — probably 5 to 10 people each. (A good precinct leader should be able to turn out 15 or 20 people from his precinct.) All political clubs are mobilized, and club officers are assigned responsibility for telephoning to club members and friends, asking them to attend the rally. Transportation is provided and, if possible, motorcades from different areas converge on the rally hall.

Tickets are distributed to workers and voters through the party organization. (Professionals often stimulate attendance by marking all tickets "reserved" so that the holder feels they are hard to get and he has an especially good seat in a reserved section.) A professional rally promoter will have two or three times as many tickets printed as the rally hall will hold, because he knows that about one third of the tickets will never reach potential users and another third will not be used by recipients.

Since attendance at a rally is difficult to promote, and because party leaders are almost always overoptimistic about turning out a crowd and seldom understand that careful planning is necessary to get people to attend, speakers at many rallies face half-empty halls.

In every campaign, professional party leaders who should know better underestimate the difficulties in staging successful rallies. In 1948, news media carried pictures of meetings being held for Harry Truman all over the country with half-empty halls. In 1958, the same problem greeted Richard Nixon in Huntington, West Virginia, and President Eisenhower in Baltimore. Every time a rally is poorly attended, an unfavorable impression is created for the party. Morale suffers. Voters get the feeling the tide is running the other way and may hasten to join it.

Here is how professionals recommend obtaining a capacity attendance at a rally:

1. Estimate realistically how many people can be reached by each precinct leader in the area and by each political club. Don't accept anyone's word on how many people he can deliver, because he will overestimate. Plan — almost person by person — who can be persuaded to attend.
2. Add up the list, including seats set aside for a reasonable number of representatives of news media and a carefully selected number of people who should sit on the platform.
3. Obtain a hall seating that many people. It probably will be a hall half as large as one that might have been selected without such planning. Pay no attention to those who object to the size of the hall; they may say it can't possibly seat all the people who will attend and that the people turned away will be angry and will vote for your opponents. An overflow meeting is desired, with newspapers headlining the speaker's popularity and reporting that crowds were turned away. Even if some of those turned away do resent it, they will be so impressed by the crowd that they will feel they are backing a winner.
4. Print tickets and get maximum distribution.
5. Hold meetings of all workers who have a responsibility to bring people to the rally. Have them state publicly in the meetings how many people they will bring. Write the totals down as if they were important. They are. Later, after the actual performance is checked, the people who didn't get their quota can be tactfully questioned. This will help to stimulate

them to get people out on election day just to prove they can do it.

Staging. The hall should be decorated. At least one band should be on hand to create an atmosphere of excitement and enthusiasm.

Timing and staging are very important. Sometimes, for monster rallies, the doors open at 6:00 P.M. Starting at 7:30 or 8:00 P.M., lesser speakers, entertainers, and band music are introduced. At 9:30 a fine orator comes on and begins the real build-up — working the audience up, teaching them a chant or cheer for use when the main speaker makes his appearance around 10:00 P.M.

At 10:00, the speaker enters from the back of the hall and makes his way to the platform, waving to the crowd and greeting people as he walks the length of the hall, with the audience chanting, "We want Blank." This roar of the crowd and frenzied chant come over radio and television with such impact that even listeners and viewers at home feel the excitement.

With the crowd keyed up by the preliminary speaker, by the band, by its own enthusiasm, it will inevitably respond easily as the principal speaker — who cannot help rising to the same level of excitement — delivers punch lines and asks rhetorical questions.

Rallies of a smaller size are run by the same rules. The only difference is in size.

12. Money-Raising Dinners

Dinners designed to raise money are called $100-a-plate (or $50 or $25) dinners in most sections. The actual dinner, of course, costs much less than the price of a ticket, the difference going into the party war chest. The principal problems in holding this kind of dinner lie in pricing the tickets correctly and putting across the idea that it is really a high-level affair. Tickets are sold by organization workers, members of the finance committee, and sometimes by a special committee of supporters formed solely for the purpose of selling tickets.

The dinner itself is simply a well-run program generally culminating in a speech by a prominent Senator or Congressman, the chairman of the party's national committee, a Governor, a Cabinet member, the Vice President, the President, or some other party luminary who will be a drawing card and who is a good speaker. The program may include other speakers or entertainment prior to the principal address.

Usually the guests at the head table will include only top-level government and political figures and the finance chairman. A new device with considerable merit involves drawing 3 to 10 names of outstanding precinct leaders by lot and intermixing the winning leaders with other guests at the head table. This provides an incentive for precinct workers to do their best work. Head-table guests, including the precinct leaders, are introduced by the master of ceremonies.

Fund-raising dinners are usually quite successful if they are well planned and executed. Many attend simply because they know everybody of importance in the party will be there. Others don't want to be identfied as one of of those not present.

13. The Neighborhood Gathering for a Candidate

The small, informal gathering at which a candidate meets neighborhood voters in someone's home is gaining increased political importance. It has been discussed in Chapter 3 (pages 73-75). Such a neighborhood gathering does not replace "street-corner meetings," trips by the candidate through supermarkets, or meetings at factory gates, but is simply a refinement of other hand-shaking techniques for getting votes.

14. Victory Party

On election night, a victory party is usually held at party headquarters. An area tally board is set up, and precinct leaders hurry from the polls to the headquarters with the count from their precincts. Counts are posted on the board for each office as they come in.

Refreshments are available. A television set or radio brings in returns from other areas. At the Victory Party, the party leader and any candidates present thank the workers for their efforts and praise them for their work.

Let's Sum Up

Politics is the process of self-government. Through our political system, we select and elect the men and women who manage our affairs. A knowledge of how politics is organized and how it operates is important to every citizen.

We have learned (1) that politics is organized group action and (2) that it is local. These two facts make it possible for the average citizen to become politically active wherever he is. The best place for him to start is in his own community.

The most effective political work can be done through a political party. Parties are organizations of like-minded people who get together to achieve certain objectives. Each of our two major parties is organized in pyramid fashion, with local, county, state, and national committees. Working within a party extends the influence of an individual and gives him an opportunity to contribute in a variety of ways.

There are three ways to make a start in politics: (1) working in a precinct, (2) working at campaign headquarters, and (3) working in a political club.

Precinct work is an excellent place to get started, because it is near, familiar, and the base of all elections, even on the national level. Campaigning for your party's candidates or for an individual candidate is another good way to begin. Political activity during the campaign reaches its peak on election day. Joining a political club is a third way. A club is usually a year-round activity, and both parties have separate clubs for young people.

In this summary, we have suggested ways in which any individual can become politically active. What are the specific tasks which young people can perform even before they come of voting age, and what are they likely to find to do in their local communities? Will there be opportunities for them to do interesting jobs as well as jobs which are important to the whole campaign?

In politics, as perhaps nowhere else, there is an opportunity for the individual, no matter what his age, to contribute something of importance. In the heat of a campaign, not much attention is paid to the person who does the last-minute telephoning that brings out five more votes. What is important is the result, measured only at the ballot box. In other words, there are no specific tasks for young people which housewives, executives, people of all ages are not already called upon to do. There are, of course, young groups like the Young Republicans or Young Democrats, but in general, a young person will find himself one of the team, rated only on how much work he is willing and able to do to bring victory at the polls.

There are, however, certain jobs which he probably can do better than most, because he has time or can get around a bit faster or simply has more enthusiasm and energy. These include house-to-house canvassing; detective work on finding the unregistered voters and getting information to them; driving voters to the polls on election day; telephoning voters to remind them of elections; distributing campaign literature; or talking to friends and neighbors about the issues and candidates. Very often political activity is talking with conviction about your own beliefs in the hope that enough people will be on your side to give victory when the votes are counted.

If you can bring even one vote to the polls for your side that might not otherwise be there, you have become a political worker who will be valued. For underneath all the mechanics of politics is the "contest" — the tug of war between opposing groups of unpredictable human beings striving for a score at the polls. It is only by participating in this democratic contest that we can discover its interest, its pleasure as a "game" which is a reality, and its satisfaction as a way of getting good government.

There is some very necessary work waiting to be done in the exciting process of self-government by way of the ballot box. And the ballot box is never far from any American. The kind of government we get depends on how we protect its use.

Fortunately, in a free society such as ours, we all are able to participate. The door is wide open.

CASE PROBLEM 8

Take Care of Your Precinct

Jim Bailey's older brother, Dick, is running in the primary election as a member-at-large for the City Council. His opponent is John Fallon, who has held the office for six terms. Dick asks Jim to gather a group of his high school friends to help him in the campaign. This is Dick's first try in politics, and he tells Jim that he expects to have to organize from the ground up.

Jim gets a group together, and they attend a meeting at which Dick outlines his plan of campaign. Since he is relatively unknown, he will get around a good deal himself — making speeches and meeting voters — and will delegate jobs to others. There is not much money to spend, so he will depend on workers to make personal contact with the voters. "And that's where you come in," he tells Jim and his group. "Spread the word."

This sounds rather vague to Jim. Other workers are being assigned to specific precincts. He asks Dick if he and his friends can take over a certain district and be responsible for that. Dick has no one yet assigned to Precinct 2, so he tells Jim that if he wants to take on the job, he can have it. He warns him that 2 is tough. The opposition in this primary is strong, and there is a precinct leader in 2 who has been in control and working for Fallon for years.

Jim sees his chance to do some organizing on his own, rather than working as a messenger boy for others. He sets up his own headquarters in the Bailey game room and goes to work.

Things are going well, and Jim is beginning to be rather proud of his planning. He and his crew have found the unregistered voters in 2 and have made a list of them. They have divided up the streets and have enough workers and enough time to reach almost every voter either by telephone or in person. Registration day and election day are well planned. Two or three of the girls will baby-sit while some of the boys drive voters to the polls.

Jim reports to his brother that his end of the campaign is in great shape. Their weekly meetings in the game room wind up with cokes and a bull session. Politics, he finds, may be work, but it is also fun.

One of his friends suggests to him that perhaps he should get in touch with this precinct leader that everyone is talking about, since he doesn't seem to be much in evidence in the campaign. So Jim calls on Tom Henderson, the precinct leader. He is very cordial, but in the course of their conversation, Jim begins to realize that Henderson not only knows precinct 2 inside out but is an experienced politician who intends to keep the voters in 2 voting his way. He talks freely to Jim about the following he has built up through the years and impresses Jim with the fact that no novice outsider can possibly make a dent in it.

"Son, I know every man, woman, and child in this precinct," he says condescendingly. "I know what they like and what they don't like. Ask me who lives at a certain number on a certain street, and I'll tell you. I can tell you what butcher they deal with, what doctor they have, their kids' birthdays, and whether they play canasta or poker — and what party they vote for. And what's more, I've probably done them a favor at one time or another. They remember me. And when I ask them for a vote for my man, they usually give it to me."

Jim goes away from his chat with Henderson discouraged about his own plans, which now seem rather naive. He talks it over with his group. They discuss what they can possibly do in a few weeks to counteract Henderson's political power. Jim thinks that perhaps he was foolish to stick his neck out in taking over Precinct 2 and wonders whether he and his friends should try to help the campaign in some other way.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What do you think Jim should do?
2. Jim finds that 40 percent of the voters usually turn out. There are 700 registered voters in Precinct 2 (of which 325 are of Dick's party) and 35 unregistered. How many votes will he have to get to be sure of his brother's victory in Precinct 2? Do you think he should concentrate on the regular voters, the unregistered ones, or those who are registered but do not often vote?
3. How does his meeting with Henderson change Jim's campaign plans?
4. How would you go about finding out how many voters there are in your precinct who are registered? What different kinds of registration are there, and what kind is there in your community?
5. If you were Dick's campaign manager, how would you outline a campaign for him? What would you do in advance of election day, and what would you leave for the last week or the last few

days? Make an organization chart and plan. What dates would you have to keep in mind?

6. If you were in charge of Dick's headquarters on election day, how would you organize it? Make a detailed list of the jobs to be done. How many of these jobs would you assign to a high school group?
7. How would you answer the following statements from voters?
   - **(a)** "I never vote in a primary."
   - **(b)** "I never heard of Bailey, but I know Mr. Fallon very well."
   - **(c)** "I don't like to see local elections degenerate into political campaigns. Keep them nonpartisan."
   - **(d)** "I'm an independent voter."
8. If Dick Bailey decides to run a full-page advertisement in the local newspaper, is it proper and lawful for the following supporters to make cash contributions toward it? (1) The local electronics corporation? (2) The librarian of the local library? (3) An individual who wishes to remain anonymous? (4) The neighborhood mailman?
9. Do you think Henderson is a political boss or a precinct leader doing his job?
10. Should a precinct leader take sides in a primary campaign?
11. Do you think local elections should be nonpartisan? What officials in a town or city do you think should be elected on a nonpartisan basis, or do you think a partisan contest is a good thing in any election?
12. In this situation, can you see any evidence for the statement that "politics shapes government"?
13. Where does "patronage" enter into this election?
14. Carry on a conversation with one of your classmates who is playing the role of an uninformed or indifferent voter.
15. Which is the most important factor in winning Precinct 2:
    - **(a)** The number of people who go to the polls?
    - **(b)** The state of the weather?
    - **(c)** The position of the two names, Bailey and Fallon, on the ballot?
    - **(d)** Whether or not Bailey attends neighborhood meetings in Precinct 2?
    - **(e)** The number of voters who belong to Dick's party?
16. What similarities are there between this and a national election? In what ways do they differ?

Appendix

Questions on the Reading

CHAPTER 1

1. How do you define a "political party"?
2. Why are political parties necessary in modern representative government?
3. When was the first national political convention and what purpose did it serve?
4. Are the rules governing elections laid down by state or Federal laws?
5. The Republican National Committee has one membership rule which differs from the Democratic National Committee. What is this rule?
6. How is the chairman of a national party committee usually selected?

CHAPTER 2

1. How are the boundaries of a precinct determined?
2. What are some of the reasons why a precinct often remains the same size in spite of population changes?
3. Why do both parties consider the precinct leader a key figure in party organization?
4. What are the two kinds of registration in most states?
5. What are the two kinds of personnel at the polls on election day and how are they chosen?
6. What are the three steps usually employed in getting potential voters to register?

CHAPTER 3

1. What is meant by the "saints," the "sinners," and the "savables?"

2. What are some important qualifications of a campaign manager?
3. What are the duties of a headquarters secretary?
4. What kinds of committees are usually organized during a campaign and what are the functions of each?
5. What are the laws governing campaign contributions?
6. In order to be effective in a campaign, issues should do three things. Can you name them?

CHAPTER 4

1. What are the three basic channels of political participation open to the average citizen?
2. Why are political clubs especially suitable for a beginner?
3. How did heavy immigration in the 19th century affect the development of political clubs?
4. What are the four principal functions of today's political clubs?
5. What are the different types of political clubs?
6. What are the six basic steps to take in organizing a political club?

CHAPTER 5

1. What are the political leader's two basic problems?
2. What different kinds of patronage are there?
3. What did the Hoover Commission recommend concerning patronage in the Federal government?
4. What are some of the techniques used by political leaders to raise money?
5. What kinds of political activities can you think of which would lend themselves to publicity?
6. What are some characteristics of a good political candidate?

CHAPTER 6

1. What are the basic types of political meetings?
2. What are some variations which program chairmen frequently use in planning political meetings?
3. What is meant by the term *caucus?*
4. What are the qualifications for attending a party caucus?
5. What steps would you take to insure a capacity audience for a rally?

Suggestions for Political Action

Political Opportunities for Individuals

NOTE: This is not an exhaustive listing. It merely indicates some of the opportunities available to individuals to perform useful political work.

Precinct Work

Preparing voter index cards and lists
Phone calls (to get people to register and vote)
House-to-house canvassing
Recruiting party workers
Providing transportation to polls on election day
Poll clerk
Registration clerk
Poll watcher
Registration watcher
Block captain
Precinct leader

Campaign Work

Publicity
Public speaking
Arranging speaking engagements
Speech writing
Making phone calls (to get people to register and vote)
Distributing literature
Planning and putting out mailings
Manning sound truck
Preparing posters, streamers, etc.
Putting up posters
Designing buttons, car stickers, etc.
Buying time and space in advertising media
Research
Legal work
Filing
Typing

Meetings, Rallies, Social Events

Planning programs
Planning and running money-raising dinners
Acting as Master of Ceremonies
Ticket selling
Bookkeeping (receipts and expenditures)
Planning and running a rally
Decorations
Organizing parades
Obtaining speakers
Briefing speakers
Escorting speakers to meeting places

Advanced Work

Ward chairman or leader
Town chairman or leader
County chairman or leader
Campaign manager
Finance chairman, publicity chairman, etc.
Serving in an appointive government office
Candidate for office

How to Analyze Political Structure

Party Committees

1. Are precincts provided by law or by party rules in your state?
2. What are they called (if other than *precincts*)?
3. Are there formally designated precinct leaders?
4. What are they called?
5. How does a precinct leader get his job? By election? By appointment? How does a town committee chairman get his job? A state chairman?
6. Who elects in each case? Who appoints?
7. What is the term of office of (a) a precinct leader, (b) a town committee chairman, (c) a state committee chairman?
8. How are vacancies filled?
9. Do party committees on any level (precinct, town or city, county, state, or national) endorse, recommend, or nominate candidates for any office?
10. Do the state election laws or party rules define the job of precinct leader, town committee chairman, county committee chairman, or state committee chairman, its responsibilities and powers? If so, summarize.

11. What are the relationships of:
    (a) a ward (or precinct) committee to town or city committee?
    (b) a town or city committee to a county committee?
    (c) a county committee to a state committee?
    (d) a county committee to other county committees?
    (e) a state committee to a national committee?
12. What political party clubs are there in your town? What state-wide party clubs are there? What role do these clubs play?
13. Does your state have state-wide political conventions? How often? For what purpose? How are the delegates selected?
14. Do precinct, city, county, or state committees have paid staffs? If so, what paid staff members are there? What are their duties?
15. How are the members of a state committee selected? Of a national committee?
16. How many delegates to the next national conventions of the two major parties will there be from your state?
17. How are the district delegates to a national convention and the delegates at large selected?
18. Does your state have a presidential preferential primary before the national conventions in either or both parties?
19. Are such primaries advisory or binding? State conditions.

Answers to the above questions on county, state, and national party organization should not be difficult to obtain. However, information on precinct and municipal party structure may be difficult — and sometimes impossible — to secure. There may be no formal organization. In such cases, students might try to get the answers to these questions:

1. Is there an acknowledged or reputed party leader in the neighborhood?
2. Is there an acknowledged or reputed party leader in the community?
3. Are there recognized party factions in the community?
4. Who are the faction leaders reputed to be?
5. Who gets out the vote on election day or primary day?

6. Who mans the polling places?
7. How are poll workers selected?
8. Who has responsibility for the conduct of primary elections? Of general elections?

Nomination for Public Office

1. How is the candidate for each municipal elective office nominated? For each county elective office? For each state-wide elective office?
2. Which, if any, of the following processes of party endorsement or nomination are used in your state, county, and municipality:
   (a) Cacus?
   (b) Convention?
   (c) Party primary?
   (d) Run-off primary?
3. Explain how the above processes work and for what offices each method is used.

Conduct of Elections

Primaries

1. Who may vote?
2. What party or government organization staffs the polling places, supervises the election, and canvasses the returns?
3. When are the primary elections, caucuses, or conventions held? Who sets the date?
4. Is the date set each year? Is it the same every year?
5. How does a candidate get on the ballot?
6. Who judges whether a contested voter may cast his ballot?

General Elections

1. Who may vote?
2. When is the election held?
3. What governmental organizations supervise and staff the polling places and canvass the results?
4. What are the registration requirements in your state?
5. Is there a poll tax or other special qualification for the right to vote?

Ground Rules for Talking with Political Leaders

1. Prepare a list of questions beforehand.
2. Decide who will be responsible for asking the questions.
3. Remember the following points:
   - **(a)** No arguments over issues.
   - **(b)** No personal attacks on guests.
   - **(c)** No embarrassing questions.
   - **(d)** Our job is to *ask questions* and *listen*.
   - **(e)** We will not use this session to express *our* views; time is short.

Sample List of Questions to Ask Political Leaders

(The following questions are suitable for the visit of a precinct leader. They can easily be adapted to other political leaders.)

1. Do you have a co-leader (appropriate terminology)? Do you have other workers helping you?
2. What does a precinct leader do? What are your responsibilities?
3. How large is the precinct? How many voters does it contain? What area does it cover?
4. How are precinct leaders appointed or elected?
5. Do you keep a year-by-year record of the votes in the precinct? How did your party do last year? The year before?
6. If you could get all the help you needed, how many people could you use to help you work the precinct? Can high school youth help? What kinds of jobs could we do?

For Further Information

Books

Adrian, Charles R., *Governing Urban America: Structure, Politics, and Administration*, 3rd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

A textbook on the processes of city government, stressing social and political factors.

Baldwin, Raymond E., *Let's Go Into Politics*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Advice about practical politics drawn from the personal experiences of a former Senator and Governor of Connecticut.

The Book of the States, 1968–1969, Vol. XVII. Chicago: The Council of State Governments.

A comprehensive study, including numerous charts and tables of recent developments in state governments and intergovernmental relations. Analysis — and costs — of state services. Recent election legislation and revisions of state constitutions described.

Bullitt, Stimson, *To Be a Politician*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

Reflections on the trials and rewards of public life in America by a former Congressman. Has an introduction by David Riesman.

Burdette, Franklin L., ed., *Readings for Republicans* (Docket Series, Volume 14). New York: Oceana Publications, Inc.

The philosophy of the Republican Party in the words of some of its leaders, from Lincoln's analysis to Eisenhower's statements of basic party principles.

Byrnes, James F., *All in One Lifetime*. New York: Harper & Row.

Autobiography of a former U. S. Representative, Senator, Supreme Court Justice, Assistant to the President, and Secretary of State.

Calkins, Fay, *The CIO and the Democratic Party*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Analyzes relationships between a union and a political party in selected states and cities and discusses party organization.

Campbell, Angus; Gurin, Gerald; and Miller, Warren E., *The Voter Decides*. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson & Company.

A scientific study from the University of Michigan Research Center of voting behavior in the 1952 election. Points out the roles of parties, issues, and candidates in deciding the outcome of elections.

Cannon, James M., ed., *Politics U. S. A.: A Practical Guide to the Winning of Public Office*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

Articles by Governor Brown of California, Leonard W. Hall, John F. Kennedy, Raymond Moley, Richard M. Nixon, Abraham Ribicoff, Adlai E. Stevenson, and others.

Carney, Francis M., and Way, H. Frank, Jr., *Politics 1960*. San Francisco: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.

A collection of articles, speeches, and reports by practicing politicians and commentators.

Carter, John Franklin, *Power and Persuasion*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc.

An insider's view of American political personalities and events from 1930 to 1960.

Cruzan, Rose Marie, *Practical Parliamentary Procedure*. Bloomington, Illinois: McKnight & McKnight Publishing Company.

A comprehensive treatment of parliamentary principles.

Dahl, Robert A., *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Examines the structure of power and government in the city of New Haven, Connecticut.

Eliot, Thomas H., *Basic Rules of Order*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

Reviews parliamentary rules for the use of clubs and other groups.

Ertel, James, *How to Run for Office.* New York: Sterling Publishing Co., Inc.

A handbook for candidates, campaign managers, precinct workers, and other interested citizens, with an introduction by Robert B. Meyner.

Farley, James A., *Behind the Ballots.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.

The political biography of Jim Farley, former campaign manager for Franklin D. Roosevelt and Democratic National Chairman. Contains insights into political problems in the early part of his political career, the 1920's and 1930's.

Flynn, Edward J., *You're the Boss.* New York: The Viking Press.

The political biography of "Boss" Flynn, former Democratic Chairman of Bronx County, New York, and former Democratic National Chairman. An analysis of political "facts of life" and practical problems of a political leader.

Foster, John [pseud.], *Let George Do It!* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

A humorous novel about American politics by a former New England governor.

Hinderaker, Ivan, *Party Politics.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

An introductory text on political parties that defines fundamental terms; discusses party organization on all levels, the presidential role in the party, and themes revolving around the history of parties; reviews campaign tactics and organizational problems.

Kammerer, Gladys M., and others, *The Urban Political Community: Profiles in Town Politics.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

Examines eight Florida municipalities with city manager government organizations.

Kent, Frank, *The Great Game of Politics.* New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

A presentation of the elementary human facts about politics, politicians, political machines, and candidates.

Key, V. O., Jr., *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups,* 4th ed. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

Reviews the political party system and organization and the parties' relation to government.

Liston, R. A., *Politics — from Precinct to Presidency.* New York: Delacorte Press (also available in paper-back from Dell). A comprehensive guide to politics. Easy reading.

Merriam, C. E., and Gosnell, H. F., *The American Party System.* New York: The Macmillan Company.

An introduction to the study of political parties in the United States.

Merriam, Robert E., and Goetz, Rachel M., *Going Into Politics: A Guide for Citizens.* New York: Harper & Row.

A guide for citizen activity in politics, with emphasis on the necessity for work within existing political parties.

Menderson, Melanie F., ed., *Parliamentary Procedure Simplified,* 4th ed. Cincinnati, Ohio: The Dale Press.

Parliamentary terms and concepts alphabetized and explained for easy reference.

Michener, James A., *Report of the County Chairman.* New York: Random House.

Novelist James Michener, who served as Chairman of the Bucks County, Pennsylvania, Citizens for Kennedy Committee, tells the story of the 1960 presidential campaign from the precinct level.

Mitchell, Stephen A., *Elm Street Politics.* New York: Oceana Publications, Inc.

A do-it-yourself approach to political participation by a former Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who tells how he started a neighborhood political club. The foreword is by Leonard W. Hall, a former Republican National Chairman.

Moley, Raymond, *27 Masters of Politics.* New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

Describes and analyzes the characteristics which made 27 politicians effective and successful, including Herbert Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Huey Long, Wendell Willkie, James A. Farley, Henry A. Wallace, and Earl Warren.

O'Connor, Edwin, *The Last Hurrah.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

A novel whose central figure, an old-time political boss, is vividly characterized.

Penniman, Howard R., *Sait's American Parties and Elections,* 5th ed. (Century Political Science Series). New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.

A realistic and practical approach to the technical aspects of political parties.

Redding, Jack, *Inside the Democratic Party.* Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

An account of the events that played a decisive role in the 1948 presidential election. Redding, Publicity Director for the Democratic campaign, explains the impact of issues and personalities on the election results.

Reed, Edward A., ed., *Readings for Democrats* (Docket Series, Vol. 15). New York: Oceana Publications, Inc.

Statements of Democratic leaders giving a portrait of the Democratic Party from its beginnings under Thomas Jefferson to the election year of 1960.

Reum, Walter J. and Mattran, Gerald C., *Politics from the Inside Up.* New York: Follett (also in paper-back from Dutton).

A general study of the inside workings of our political system.

Riordan, William L., *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall: A Series of Very Plain Talks on Very Practical Politics, Delivered by ex-Senator George Washington Plunkitt, The Tammany Philosopher, from his Rostrum — the New York County Court-House Bootblack Stand — and recorded by William L. Riordan.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

A record of informal talks by a turn-of-the-century New York State Senator and Tammany leader. Presents Plunkitt's earthy version of "how to build a followin', become a lastin' statesman, hold a precinct by studyin' human nature and actin' accordin'."

Robert, Henry M., *Robert's Rules of Order, Revised*, 75th Anniversary ed. Chicago, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company.
A standard work on parliamentary procedure.

Rossiter, Clinton, *Parties and Politics in America*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
An objective analysis of our two major parties.

Scott, Hugh D., Jr., *How to Go into Politics*. New York: The John Day Company.
Reviews political party work for the newcomer in politics and explains how to become active and effective in politics. Includes a sample constitution for a political club.

Stevenson, Fred G., *Pocket Primer of Parliamentary Procedure*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
Brief, quick-reference manual on club and association rules of order.

Sturgis, Alice F., *Sturgis Standard Code of Parliamentary Procedure*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
Fundamental principles and detailed rules governing group organization and parliamentary procedures.

Van Riper, Paul P., *Handbook of Practical Politics*. New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc.
A detailed and comprehensive work which includes many charts and illustrations.

White, Theodore H., *The Making of the President — 1960*.
———, *The Making of the President — 1964*.
———, *The Making of the President — 1968*. New York: Athenaeum Publishers.
Narrative histories of American politics in action. The stories of three presidential campaigns told by a journalist who traveled with the candidates.

Films

Directory of 16 mm. Film Libraries, Education Bulletin 1959, No. 4, and annual supplements since. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Pamphlets

AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006), *How to Win.*

A handbook on techniques used in winning elections. Includes sections on planning meetings, organizing, raising funds, selecting candidates, and activating voters.

American Heritage Foundation (11 West 42nd Street, New York 10036), *Grass Roots Guides on Democracy and Practical Politics.* Produced in co-operation with the Center for Information on America.

"How-to-do-it" guides dealing with a particular political operation, and "What-it-is-all-about" guides explaining and examining specific features of our self-governing process.

———. *Good Citizen.*

A pamphlet explaining the rights and duties of American citizenship.

———. *How to Get People to Register and Vote.*

A working manual of proved techniques for all types of elections.

American Telephone and Telegraph Company (195 Broadway, New York 10007), *The Primary Step to Your Future.*

A pamphlet of information about primaries, including a glossary of terms.

Bailey, Stephen K., *The Condition of Our National Political Parties.* The Fund for the Republic (136 E. 57th Street, New York 10022).

A pamphlet on the role of the political process in a free society.

Chamber of Commerce of the United States (1615 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006), *Highway to Successful Committee Meetings.*
A guide for committee chairmen in conducting effective meetings.

Eagleton Institute of Politics, *Case Studies in Practical Politics,* ed. by Paul Tillett. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
A series of pamphlets giving accounts of political activity — campaigning, financing, programming, framing issues, running affairs of state — built on case histories and written by people close to the scene of the actual events.

Employee Relations In Action (799 Broadway, New York 10003), *If You Couldn't Vote in Free Elections.*
A pictorial pamphlet showing the contrast between life in a free society and in a totalitarian state.

Harsch, Joseph C., *The Role of Political Parties, U. S. A.* Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc. (5225 Sycamore Avenue, New York).
Discusses the origin, functions, and actions of the two major parties.

League of Women Voters in your community.
Informational material on local political issues and candidates.

Public Affairs Committee (381 Park Avenue South, New York 10016). *Public Affairs Pamphlets.*
A wide assortment of pamphlets on current issues, prepared for social studies classes and other interested organizations or groups.

National Education Association of the United States (1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006), *For Civic Competence.*
A series of four pamphlets: "How a Bill Becomes Law"; "Key People in Our Federal Government"; "Can You Vote?"; and "How to Write a Letter to Your Congressman."

National Small Business Association (1225 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036), *ABC of Politics.*
A practical guide to political action.

Party Publications

Democratic Party Publications:

Democratic National Committee
Office of Women's Activities
Young Democratic Clubs of America

2600 Virginia Avenue,
N.W., Washington, D.C.
20037

Republican Party Publications:

Republican National Committee
National Federation of Republican Women
Young Republican National Federation

1625 Eye St., N.W.,
Washington, D.C.
20006

PICTURE ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

PHOTOGRAPHS IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE

Burton Berinsky from Black Star
Bern Keating from Black Star
Mark Silber
Hays from Monkmeyer
NBC News Photo
Wide World Photos
Paul Thomas from Black Star
Fred Ward from Black Star
United Press International
Associated Press
Hays from Monkmeyer
John Littlewood, Staff Photographer,
  Christian Science Monitor
Norman Matheny, Staff Photographer,
  Christian Science Monitor
NBC News Photo
Ann Zane Shanks
United Press International

Index

Absentee ballots, 37, 42
Absentee voter, 37
Adams, John Quincy: mentioned, 10
Advertising, 76-7. *See also* Public relations committee
Agenda, 152
Arvey, Jacob M.: quoted, 30
Auxiliary clubs, 112-4; weaknesses of, 113; appeal of, 113-4; organization of, 114-5. *See also* Party club; Political club, types of

Balancing the ticket, 139
Baldwin, Raymond E.: quoted, 133
Ballot: voting machine, 87
Basic Campaign Organization Chart, *64*
Billboards in campaign, 79. *See also* Communications media
Block captains, 32; recruiting of, 33; responsibilities of, 32, 41-2; assignments for, 36-7. *See also* Political workers, terms used for
Board of elections, 11
"Buffer team," 74-5
Bullitt, Stimson: quoted, 74
Burr, Aaron: mentioned, 106

Calhoun, John C.: mentioned, 8
Calkins, Fay: quoted, 12-13
Campaign: 60-3; organization of, 62-7; chart of organization of, *64;* Women in, 66; activities and committees of, 67-83; publicity of, 75-80; financing of, 83-6; timing of, 88-90; major purposes of, 90; strategy of, 90-1; themes of, 92; analysis of, 93. *See also* Campaign committees, functions of; Campaign manager; Election calendar; Issues; "Letterhead clubs"; Public relations committee; Vote, analysis of
Campaign committees: functions of, 67-83
Campaign manager, 65-6
Candidate: nomination of presidential, 10; mechanics of selection of, 15; relations with party leader, 28-9, 139-40; and campaign, 63, 65, 71, 136-7; and small, informal gathering, 73-4; background and selection of, 138-9; competence and character of, 139
Canvassing committee, 81-2
Caucus, 10, 159. *See also* Political meetings, types of
Central registration, 35
"Century Clubs," 135. *See also* Financing
Chain voting, 46-7. *See also* Frauds practiced at polls
Chotiner, Murray: quoted, 89
CIO Political Action Committee: mentioned, 4
City, town, and ward clubs, 112. *See also* Party club; Political club, types of
Clay, Henry: mentioned, 8
Closed primaries, 11-12
Club: defined, 115. *See also* Party club; Political club
Committee meetings, 158, 159, 160. *See also* Political meetings, types of
Communications media: uses of, 75, 77-9; value of, 80. *See also* Public relations committee
Contract patronage, 132
Contributions: limitations on political, 84-5
Conventions, nominating, 10. *See also* Political parties
County committee: structure and authority of, 15; functions of, 17. *See also* Political parties, structure of
County supervisor, 14
Crowding the polls, 47. *See also* Frauds practiced at polls

Debate: on TV, 78-9; at political meetings, 154
Democratic National Committee: quoted, 27
Dewey, Thomas E.: mentioned, 16, 31, 76
"Door ajar" primaries, 12
Door-to-door canvassing, 36-7
Dues-style contributions, 135

Eisenhower, Dwight D.: quoted, 1; mentioned, 48, 90, 91, 162
Election calendar, 41-2, 89-90
Election-day activities: committees to handle, 88. *See also* Vote checkers

Election district: size of, 10
Election laws. *See* State election laws
Election officials, 39, 42-4; number of, 43; functions of, 43-4; qualifications of, 43, 46. *See also* Frauds practiced at polls
Elections: board of, 11
Elections: participation in presidential, *30*
Electors, 10
Ertel, James: quoted, 3
Ethnic clubs, 107, 112
Executive committee, 14; meetings of, 159

Farley, James A.: quoted, 74
Finance committee, 21, 83-4, 135-6
Financing political parties, 133-6. *See also* United financing method
Flynn, Edward J.: quoted, 4-5, 18, 82, 131
Frauds practiced at polls, 46-7. *See also* Election officials

Gabrielson, Guy George: mentioned, 16
Gallup, George: quoted, 32
"Good government" groups, 18
Government: defined, 1; basic issues of, 1-2; women in, 111

Hall, Leonard: quoted, 114
Hamilton, Alexander: mentioned, 8
Hayes, Rutherford B.: mentioned, 30
Headquarters committee, 67
Headquarters secretary, 67-8
"Hidden government," 18, 19
Hinderaker, Ivan: quoted, 91-2
Honest Ballot Association of New York: quoted, 45
Hoover Commission: mentioned, 131
House-to-house canvass, 134-5
Hughes, Charles Evans: mentioned, 30

Individual: political responsibility of, 2, 3-4, 6
Intraparty fights, 15, 51-2, 116-8
Issues, 90-2. *See also* Campaign, major purposes of; Campaign, themes of

Javits, Jacob K.: mentioned, 70
Jefferson, Thomas: mentioned, 8
Job patronage, 130-2

"Kept organizations," 19
Kennedy, John F.: mentioned, 34-5, 73, 78-9; quoted, 105
King, Rufus: mentioned, 8

Legal committee, 67, 80-1
"Letterhead clubs," 114
Lincoln, Abraham: mentioned, 8; quoted, 25
Literature in campaign, 75, 79-80

McGrath, J. Howard: quoted, 59
Mail solicitation, 42, 134
"Meet-the-Press" format, 153-4
Minority party organization, 19
Mitchell, Stephen A.: quoted, 120-1
Moderator: key functions of, 152-4
Moley, Raymond E.: quoted, 92
Money-raising dinners, 135, 163-4
Monroe, James; mentioned, 8
Movies, 154

National committee: structure of, 16; selection of chairman of, 16; functions of, 17
Neighborhood gathering, 73-5, 164
Newspapers. *See* Communications media
Nixon, Richard M.: mentioned, 78, 89, 162; quoted, 125
Nomination. *See* State election laws

Official party committee meetings, 160. *See also* Political meetings, types of
Official registrars. *See* Election officials
Officials: nomination of, 15, 17, 18
One-party system, 9, 18, 19
Open primaries, 12
"Operation Coffee-Cup," 73-4

Panel discussion, 152-3
Participation in National Elections, *30*
Parties. *See* Political parties

Party "checkers." *See* Vote checkers
Party club: types of, 109-114; organization of, 114-5; becoming active in, 118-20; formation of, 120-2
Party committees, 17
Party leadership, 116, 121-2, 126. *See also* Political club; Political leader; Precinct leader
Party workers. *See* Political workers
Patronage: workers rewarded by, 129-30; types of, 130-2; problems of, 132-3; purposes of, 133
Periodic registration, *40*, 41
Permanent registration, 37, *40*, 41
Platform Arrangements for Three Types of Meetings, 155
Plunkitt, George Washington: mentioned, 107, 116, 119; quoted, 107-8
Political campaign. *See* Campaign
Political club: advantages of, 105-6; origin and growth of, 106-7; goals of, 107; functions of, 108-9; types of, 109-14; organization of, 114-5, 120-2; and party, 115, 121-2; and intraparty fights, 116-8; membership in, 118-20; formation of, 120-2; summary of, 122-3
"Political consumers," 3
Political contributions: limitations on, 84-5
Political decisions: effect on citizens, 3
Political leader: role in government, 2; problems of, 125-6, 127-38; terms used for, 126; characteristics and selection of, 126; power and position of, 126; functions of, 126-7; and subordinates, 127-30, 164; and patronage, 130-3; and financing, 133-6; and publicity, 136-8; relations with candidate and officeholder, 138-40; civic responsibility of, 140-1. *See also* Precinct leader
Political "machine." *See* Political organization
Political meetings: planning, 151-4, 156; agenda for, 152; need for, 151-2; responsibilities of chairman of, 152, 156; programs for, 152-4; participation in, 154, 156; types of, 157-64. *See also Platform Arrangements for Three Types of Meetings*
Political organization, 7, 14, 18. *See also* "Hidden government"; Political parties
Political participation, 4, 5-6, 105
Political parties: defined, 7; functions of, 7; purpose of, 7-8; development of, 8; loyalty to, 9; conventions of, 10; rules of, 12; structure of, 12-17; disputes in, 15, 51-2, 116-8. *See also* Minority party organization; One-party system; Party committees; Political leader; Political workers; Precinct leader; State election laws
Political power, 10
Political responsibility of individual, 2, 3-4, 6
Political workers: reasons for decreased availability of, 25-6; terms used for, 32; sources of, 33, 127; need for, 44, 129; selection of, 128, 129; rewards for, 128, 130, 164; rating of, 128-9. *See also* Patronage; Political leader; Precinct leader; Vote checkers
Politics: defined, 1; purpose of, 3; description of, 5; and beginner, 5-6; mechanics of, 6. *See also* Political parties
Poll tax: as voting qualification, 35-6; *38-9*
Poll watchers, 42-3, 46, 47
Polls, state laws regarding, 46
"Pow-Wows," 73
Precinct: structure of, 14, 26, *33;* functions of, 14; terms used for, 26; importance of, 30-1. *See also* Election district; Party committees; Political parties, structure of; Redistricting
Precinct leader: functions of, 14, 31; importance of, 27; selection of, 27-8, 29; place in party of, 29-30, 51-2; characteristics of, 31, 47, 50, 51-2; motivation of, 31; responsibilities of, 34, 41-2, 44, 49-50; relations with workers, 47, 49-50; relations with voters, 48, 51;

relations with community, 48; and intraparty disputes, 51-2. *See also* Political leader; Political parties
Precinct Organization Chart, 33
Precinct registration, 35
Precinct workers. *See* Political workers
Precinct workers' meeting, 36, 157-8
Primaries, 11-12. *See also* State election laws
Preorganizational meeting, 121-2
Psychological patronage, 132
Public-opinion surveys: value of, 70
Public relations committee, 75-80. *See also* Publicity
Publicity: in campaign, 75-6; defined, 136; purpose of, 137; obtaining, 137-8. *See also* Public relations committee

Qualifications for Voting, 38-9

Radio: campaign use of, 79. *See also* Communications media
Rallies: purpose of, 161; promotion of, 161-3; staging of, 163
Redding, Jack: quoted, 76, 92
Redistricting, 26-7. *See also* Precinct, structure of
Registrars, official. *See* Election officials
Registration, 38-9, *40*, 41; importance of, 34-5; types of, 35, 37, 41; personnel needed for, 39; requirements for, *40*, 41
Registration drive, 34-7, 39, 41
Registration list: use of, 33, 41-2
Registration period, 35
Republican National Committee: quoted, 27, 63, 65
Research committee, 69-70
Robert's Rules of Order: mentioned, 157
Rockefeller, Nelson: quoted, 7; mentioned, 48
Roosevelt, Theodore: quoted, 4

"Saints," 37, 41, 42, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61-2
Sample Ballot for Voting Machine, 87
"Savables," 37, 41, 42, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61-2
Scott, Hugh D.: mentioned, 16, 30; quoted, 34
Section captions, 32
"Sinners," 37, 55, 58, 61-2
Small, informal gathering, 73-5. *See also* Speakers committee
Social events, 135, 160. *See also* Financing; Political meetings, types of
Socrates: mentioned, 106
Speakers committee, 71-3. *See also* "Buffer team"; Campaign committees, functions of; Small, informal gathering
Special services committee, 82-3. *See also* Campaign committees, functions of
Spoiling ballots, 46. *See also* Frauds practiced at polls
"Spoils system," 131
"Spot announcement," 79
Stalin, Joseph: mentioned, 76
State committee, 16, 17. *See also* Political parties, structure of
State election laws, 10-12, 46. *See also* Election calendar; Election officials; Registration, requirements for; Voting
State Registration Requirements, 40
Stevenson, Adlai E.: mentioned, 90, 91
Survey Research Center: analysis of 1952 elections, 9, 90

Tammany Hall: mentioned, 106, 107
Television: campaign use of, 77-9
Telephoning: for registration, 41; on election day, 44, 45
Testimonial dinners, 160
Town-city committee: structure and authority of, 14-15; functions of 17. *See also* Party committees; Political parties, structure of
Training meetings, 158. *See also* Political meetings, types of
Transportation and baby-sitting, 41, 42, 44, 45

Trickery by advice, 46. *See also* Frauds practiced at polls
Truman, Harry S.: mentioned, 76, 92, 162

United financing method, 136
Unregistered voters, 37. *See also* "Saints"; "Savables"; "Sinners"
U.S. News and World Report: quoted, 34

Victory party, 164. *See also* Political meetings, types of
Volunteers chairman, 68-9. *See also* Campaign committees, functions of
Vote: importance of, 30-1; analysis of, 93, 95, 101
Vote checkers, 39, 44-5. *See also* Election-day activities
Voters: eligibility of, 11; registration of, 34-5; first, 36-7; absentee, 37; unregistered, 37; qualifications of, *38-9;* getting to polls, 86, 88. *See also* State election laws
Voting: table of qualifications, *38-9;* ballot for voting machine, *87*
Voting lists, 36

Ward committee, 14. *See also* Party committees; Political parties, structure of
Washington, George: mentioned, 8
Webster, Daniel: mentioned, 8
White, F. Clifton: mentioned, 130
White, Theodore H.: quoted, 34-5, 78-9, 113
Willkie, Wendell: mentioned, 88
Wilson, Woodrow: mentioned, 30
Women: in campaign, 66; in government and political parties, 111
Women's clubs, 111
Worthy, James C.: quoted, 134

Young clubs, 109-11. *See also* Party club
Young Republican National Federation: diagram of structure of, *110*

ABCDEFGHIJ— SM —76543210 69

A publication of the
Lincoln Filene Center
for Citizenship
and Public Affairs